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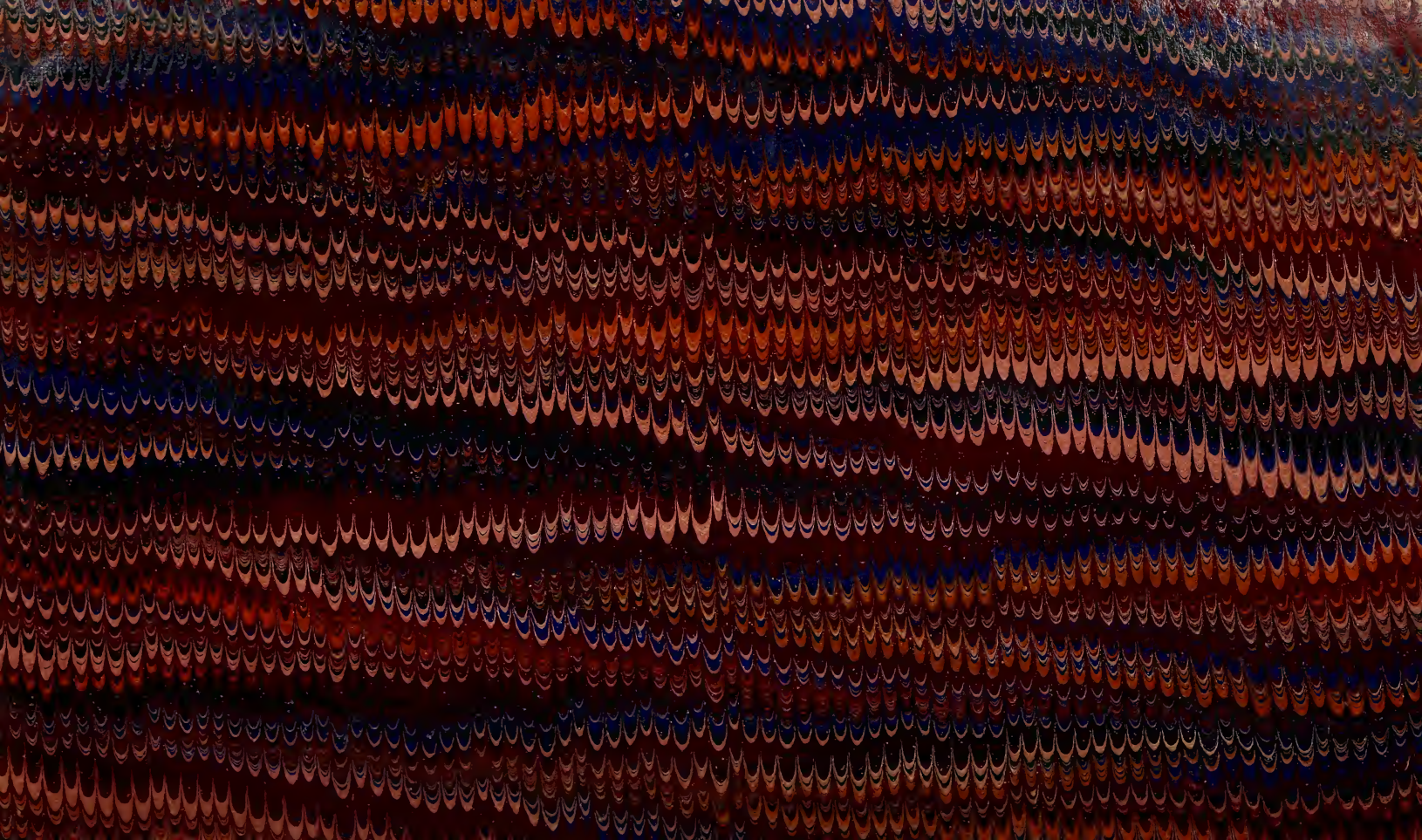

MEMOIRS

OF THE

REFORMATION OF ENGLAND:

IN TWO PARTS.

THE WHOLE COLLECTED

CHIEFLY FROM ACTS OF PARLIAMENT

AND

PROTESTANT HISTORIANS.

BY CONSTANTIUS ARCHÆOPHILUS.

"Tho' *Truth* and *Falsehood* seem like twins ally'd,
There 's eldership on *Truth*'s delightful side.
'Twere wrong to sleep, or headlong run astray;
It is not wand'ring, to *inquire* the way."

London:
Printed and published by
KEATING AND BROWN,
58, Duke-street, Grosvenor-square, and 63, Pater-noster-row.

1826.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE REFORMATION OF ENGLAND.

IN TWO PARTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE seriousness and importance of the subject we are going to enter upon cannot, perhaps, be much better expressed than in the following words of Sir *Richard Baker* †: "We shall come to hear of occurrences that have been matter of talk to this day, whereof the like have never been seen, and will hardly be believed when they are heard. A Marriage dissolved after twenty years consummation! Houses built in piety; under pretence of piety dissolved! Queens taken out of love, put to death out of loathing! And the Church itself so shaken, that it has stood in distraction ever since!"——Behold a concise enumeration of some of the most noted and remarkable *Occurrences* recorded in the *British* Annals!

In perusing History, it is not unpleasant to observe how strangely the greatest Revolutions, both in Church and State, have sometimes emerged from very unpromising, not to say trivial incidents.

The following *Memoirs* will confirm the truth of this observation; and we doubt not but the Reader will be astonished, and will scarce believe, that the surprising series of events we are going to recount could possibly derive their birth from so inconsiderable an occurrence as King *Henry* VIII's love-intrigue with the celebrated Lady *Ann Bullen*. Yet this is certainly matter of fact, if there be any truth in history.

"‡ The King being violently hurried with the transport

† *Baker's Chron.* p. 272.
‡ *Heylin's Preface* to his *History of the Reformation.*

of some private affections, and finding that the Pope appeared the great Obstacle to his Desires, he first divested him, by degrees, of that *Supremacy* which he had challenged, and enjoyed by his predecessors for some ages past, and finally extinguished his authority in the realm of *England.* This opened the way to the *Reformation*, and gave encouragement to those who inclined to it. To which the King afforded no small countenance, out of *politic ends.*"—And thus has our Historian, in few words, given us a full and true account of a great Monarch's *Motives to run mad!* From which account it may be inferred, that the *Reformation of England* accidentally took its rise from an unfortunate rupture between King *Henry* VIII. and the *great Obstacle of his Desires.*

And what was it the King desired? What did he want? Only to repudiate his lawful (but now antiquated) Spouse, in order to make room for one more agreeable to his fancy and his inclination. This, it must be confessed, was *A bold Stroke for a* (second) *Wife*, the first being still alive! But what will not an ungovernable, headstrong prince do, when precipitately *hurried away* with the violent *transport* of a blind passion?

This unhappy passion was artfully enough concealed for some time; and, to put a blind upon the nation, the King pretended to be stung with *a Scruple of Conscience!* An idle and vain pretence! and that it was really such, I appeal to his Majesty's subsequent behaviour, which plainly demonstrated his specious *plea of Conscience* to be little else, at the bottom, but varnish and grimace.

"† For it is very unconceivable, that such a scruple should be real, after twenty years cohabitation, the lawfulness of his marriage having been sufficiently canvassed before, when they [K. *Henry* VII. and K. *Ferdinand*] thought it necessary to have a dispensation from the Pope. But the most probable opinion is, that this voluptuous prince rather followed the dictates of his lust, than any real emotions of conscience." And if so, then I think it may be truly said, that these irreligious *dictates* occasionally paved the way to that grand Ecclesiastical Revolution, commonly called *The Reformation of England.*

Yet perhaps it may be doubted, whether the King could ever have gained his point, had he not resolved, at last, to arm himself with the formidable *Sword of Supremacy.* For it was his own first, and then his children's *Lay-Su-*

† *Short View of the English History*, p. 185.

premacy, that did all the great feats we are going to relate.

And therefore, in order to give our Reader a distinct view of it, we have divided our subject into two Parts. In the first Part, an enquiry is made into the *methods* that were pursued, and the *measures* that were concerted, by our three first Reforming Sovereigns, to get into possession of the *Spiritual Supremacy*. And in the second Part, the *use* they made of their *spiritual power* is more copiously displayed.

PART I.

§ 1. *The Fall of Cardinal* Wolsey .... *His Speech to the King's Commissioners upon his being arrested .... Reflections upon it, and the Cardinal's Plea.*

We begin our *Memoirs of the Reformation of England* with a brief account of the memorable fall of Cardinal *Wolsey;* and we imagine it may not be improper to go back as far as that remarkable incident, because that King *Henry the Eighth's* quarrelling with so great a Prelate, may be looked upon as an introduction to his maltreating the rest of the Clergy, and a kind of commencement of hostilities against the whole Church.

Be it known, then, that this famous Cardinal, from an abject meanness of birth, had the good fortune to be advanced, by the royal bounty and favour of a great Monarch, to the highest pinnacle of preferment. Not to mention his spiritual promotions, which were very considerable, he obtained the dignity of *First Minister of State.* He was the great oracle of the court. He had the entire command of the whole administration of the government at home, and was caressed and feared by the greatest princes abroad. In fine, he was a companion for kings and the most exalted subject in Christendom. But behold the lubricity of fortune! behold the instability of all human grandeur and elevation! behold the mighty man suddenly thrown down, and crushed, like a huge *Colossus*, with the weight of his own fall! This remarkable event fell out in the following manner.

King *Henry* VIII. happening unfortunately to fall in love

with the celebrated *Ann Bullen*, as we have already hinted, and finding there was no other way to make a wife of her, but by dissolving his prior marriage with Queen *Catharine*, it was not long before he desperately resolved to venture upon that unhappy *expedient*. Such an extraordinary resolve as this could not long escape the sagacity and penetration of Cardinal *Wolsey*. No doubt but he had early notice of it; for he is not only *suspected*, but even *supposed*, by several of our historians, to have been the very first man that ever attempted to perplex the King's Conscience with a Scruple about the Unlawfulness of his Marriage with Queen *Catharine:* and they further add, that this wicked thought was injected merely out of a pique to the Emperor *Charles* V. (the Queen's nephew) who, it seems, had unhinged the pretension and traversed the design of our aspiring Prelate, first upon the Archbishopric of *Toledo*, and afterwards of placing himself in the Chair of St. *Peter*.

Provoked at this double disappointment, *Wolsey* from henceforward breathes nothing but revenge against both the nephew and aunt, the Emperor and Queen *Catharine;* and, to mature his vindictive scheme, he takes it into his head to negociate a match for his master with the French King's sister, upon a supposition that the two crowns of *France* and *England* being, by such an alliance, the more closely and firmly united, they might form, in conjunction, a powerful confederacy against *Cæsar*. But alas! this Machiavelian plan of operations miscarried! The Cardinal was unfortunate enough *to reckon without his host;* without the King, I mean, who was not now disposed to wed a foreigner, being captivated already with the fascinating charms of an *English* Lady. This was the Rock upon which *Wolsey* was wrecked, with all his cargo of politics!

To pry into the secrets of futurity, is a privilege denied to the wisest statesmen; so no wonder if our Cardinal appeared to be, perhaps, a little purblind at this critical conjuncture. Wholly taken up as he was with the pleasing *reverie* of potent alliances abroad, he little dreamed of the powerful confederacy that was formed against him at home, where some great personages, how discordant soever they might be to each other, united heartily against him. In short, *Wolsey* was ruined by his own imprudence, in creating too many enemies at court.

Ann Bullen, Queen *Catharine*, and the King, (all equally exasperated) were three to one against him. The first, as Mr. *Strype* assures us, was *a Lutheran in her heart, and an enemy to the Cardinal;* and therefore we

need not be surprised, if, to mortify her vanity, *Wolsey* should employ all the art and skill he was master of, to clog the grand affair of the *Divorce* with premeditated delays. Queen *Catharine*, tired with his treacherous behaviour and double-dealing, was obliged to lodge an appeal at the Court of *Rome*, and to remit the merits of her cause from the Pope's Legate (for in that high character then was Cardinal *Wolsey*) to the Pope himself. Nor was the King less irritated at the tergiversation and trifling conduct of his dilatory minister, as Mr. *Fuller* has observed.

"† Now began Cardinal *Wolsey*," says he, "to decline in the King's favour, suspecting him for not being cordial in his cause, and ascribing much of the delay to his backwardness therein. More hot did the displeasure of Queen *Catharine* burn against him, beholding him as the chief engine who set the matter of her divorce first in motion."—But though the Queen, in her perplexed situation, could do little else but weep and pray, our boisterous Monarch *(who never ruined any man by halves)* took up a sudden resolution, to convince the Cardinal how dangerous a thing it was for him or any one else to check the progress of his *amour*. In fine, to wind up my story, the King ordered his attorney-general to prefer a bill of indictment against *Wolsey*, for his having presumed to execute the office of a Pope's Legate *à Latere* in this realm without the royal licence (as he pretended) and contrary to a statute made and provided in the reign of King *Richard* II.

Against this accusation the Cardinal pleaded "‡ The King's License under his hand and broad seal, to indemnify him; but that he could not produce the *instrument*, because his trunks and coffers were seized. However, not thinking it adviseable to maintain his conduct, he confessed the *indictment*, sent his submission, and cast himself upon the King's honour."——All which circumstances are more fully and pathetically displayed in a moving speech which his Eminence made to the King's Commissioners; to whom (being now arrested and a state prisoner) he thus discovered the anguish of his soul.

"I am now sixty years old, and have spent my days in his Majesty's service, neither shunning pains, nor endeavouring any thing more than (next to my Creator) to please him. And is this that heinous crime, for which I am, at this age, deprived of my estate, and forced, as it were, to

† *Fuller's Church History*, B. v. pp. 175, 176.
‡ *Collier's Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. ii. B. i. p. 38.

beg my bread from door to door? I expected some accusation of a higher strain, as treason, or the like: not that I know myself conscious of any such matter, but that his Majesty's wisdom is such, as to know it little becomes the constancy and magnanimity of a King, for a slight fault to condemn, and that without hearing, an ancient servant, and to inflict a punishment on him more horrid than death! What man is he, who is so base minded, that he had not rather a thousand times perish, than see a thousand men (for so many my family numbereth) of whose faithful service he hath had long trial, for the most part to perish before his eyes? But finding nothing else objected, I conceive great hope that I shall easily break this machination of combined envy, as was that late one against me in the Parliament concerning treason. It is well known to his Majesty (of whose justice I am confident) that I could not presume to execute my power legatine before he had been pleased to ratify it by his royal assent, given under his seal, which notwithstanding I cannot produce; *that*, and all my goods (as you well know) being taken from me. Neither indeed, if I could, would I produce it; for to what end should I contend with the King? Go, therefore, and tell his Majesty, that I acknowledge all that I have (but alas! what speak I of what I have, who indeed have nothing left me?) or whatsoever I had, to be derived from his royal bounty, and do think it good reason that he should revoke his gifts, if he thinks me unworthy of them. Why, then, do I not remit my cause to his Majesty's arbitriment, at his pleasure to be either absolved or condemned? To him, then, if you will have me acknowledge my fault, behold I will make short work with you, *I confess it.* The King knows my innocency, so that neither my own confession, nor the calumnies of my adversaries, can deceive him. His Majesty, from the fountain of his natural clemency, doth often derive the streams of his mercy to delinquents; and I know, though I should not desire it, he will regard my innocency."—*Stow's Annals.*

If this speech be genuine (which consent of authors encourage us to believe) thus much we may venture to say of it, that though it does not come up to the standard of the most refined *language*, nevertheless its *sentiments* are very striking. Like a fine portrait done by some masterly hand, it places in full view a *great man*, astonished, confounded, and thunderstruck with a sudden and unexpected reverse of fortune! Cast down headlong from the summit of power and preferment, to the low and rueful condition of a beggar

from door to door! stript in a moment of the princely retinue of a *thousand servants!* trembling under the apprehension of a *punishment more horrid than death!* avowing with the same breath, his *guilt* and his *innocence!* pleading for *mercy*, and imploring the *clemency* of one who was an entire stranger to those royal virtues! All which sad circumstances, so pathetically enumerated, might be apt to melt one to compassion, did not the well-known arrogance and the boundless ambition of this proud Prelate mutually conspire to shut out pity.

But to enter a little further into the Cardinal's plea. It appears from the articles of his impeachment, that he actually had the King's licence to exercise his legatine power; and the 28th article in particular insinuates as much. I shall first lay it before the reader, and then subjoin Mr. *Collier*'s reflections upon it.

Art. 28th. "Also whereas the said Lord Cardinal did first sue unto your Grace to have your assent to be Legate *de Latere*, promising and solemnly promising before your Majesty, and before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that he would nothing do, nor attempt, by virtue of his Legacie, that should be contrary to your gracious prerogative or regality, or to the damage or prejudice of the jurisdiction of any ordinary, and that by his Legacie no man should be hurted or offended: And upon that condition, and no other, he was admitted by your Grace to be a Legate within this realm. This condition he has broken, as is well known to all your subjects."—Upon which Mr. *Collier* makes the following reflections.

"† The 28th Article declares expressly, he had the King's Licence to exercise his Legatine Authority; and since the Cardinal had the King's leave, and was *admitted by his Highness*, as the article speaks, *to be a Legate within this realm*, was it not a great hardship he should be indicted upon the statute of *Præmunire?* For it appears by the process, he was not prosecuted so much for the abuse, as for the bare using of his Legatine Commission. Thus the King made the privilege of his *Letters Patent* a crime, sued against his own Licence, and brought the Cardinal under a severe forfeiture, for making use of the Royal Authority."

Now, should we take it for granted, that the Cardinal's incurring the penalty of a *Præmunire* was a *great hardship*, and that his *plea* was not inequitable; nevertheless, in despite

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. b. i. p. 43.

of all arguments and remonstrances to the contrary, our sturdy Monarch persisted in his resolution to seize *Wolsey*'s person and effects, for no other reason that I can find, but only this, *that such was his will and pleasure.* And truly, after K. *Henry* VIII. had renounced all obedience to the *great Obstacle* of his infamous *Desires*, his conduct and his actions were generally the result of this arbitrary and tyrannic principle :

" *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas.*"...Juv. Sat. vi.

" I have the sov'reign power to save or kill,
And give no other *reason* but my *will.*"...Dryden.

---

§ 2.—*How the Clergy were drawn into a* Præmunire, *and fined to the Tune of L.*118,840....*That foreign Universities were bribed to declare for the* Divorce....*The King assumes the Title of* Supreme Head of the Church of England....*His Title is acknowledged by the Clergy with a Limitation.*

Upon the disgrace and removal of Cardinal *Wolsey*, a Parliament was called, wherein the Clergy were, with little ceremony, voted guilty of a *Præmunire*, for their having acknowledged that Prelate's Legatine Authority : and in consequence of this vote, the whole body of the spirituality were indicted in the King's Bench †. Wherefore being willing to redeem their whole estates forfeited by law, they were glad to commute it into a sum of money; and this commutation cost the province of *Canterbury L.* 100,000, and the province of *York L.* 18,840.

These arbitrary amercements (whatever motives might be pretended) were levied with a view to reimburse his Majesty, who had been, for a considerable time, at no small expense in procuring *proper instruments* from foreign universities (which he had profusely bribed) to declare in favour of his Divorce.

Indeed Bishop *Burnet*, with a front of assurance peculiar to himself, positively affirms there was no such thing as *bribery* in the case. But if that random-writer had taken the least pains to enquire into the *truth*, (which, by the bye, was none of his business) he might, perhaps, have been convinced of the contrary ; if, indeed, it were possible to convince such a man.

† *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* B. v. p. 184.

For, not to insist upon the authorities of the famous *Cornelius Agrippa*, *Sleidan*, and the Author of the Life of Bishop *Fisher*, ‘ † *Cavendish*, Cardinal *Wolsey*'s Gentleman-Usher, is another authority, that the King was at a considerable expense for the gaining the foreign universities. He tells us, that those who governed those societies, or had the keeping of the common seals, *were fed by the commissioners with great sums of money*, and gained by the prevalence of *bribery*. One of our Parliaments concurs with *Cavendish* in his reflections. It is 1 *Mar. Sess.* ii. c. 1. The act sets forth, ‘ That the seals, as well of certain universities in *Italy* and *France*, were gotten (as it were for a testimony) by the *corruption of money*, with a few light persons, scholars of the same universities: as also the seals of the universities of this realm, were obtained by great travel, sinister working, secret threatenings and entreatings of some men of authority specially sent at that time thither, for the same purposes.''——Add to this the Pope's Letter to the King (extant in Mr. *Collier's Collection of Records*) which absolutely confirms the above complaint of unfair dealing and sinister practices with the universities abroad, part of which is as follows: “ As for those universities and men of learning, who, as you will write us word, incline to your side of the question, very few of their opinions have come to our hands; and even those few have not been duly presented by orators, or agents in the King's name. At the best they are but crude reasonings, unsupported by that which ought, in this case, to be principally considered; I mean, the authority of the word of God, and the holy Canons.''—See the *Appendix* No. I.

In the mean time, the process of the Divorce moved but slowly at *Rome*. So many troublesome difficulties, obstructions, and demurs from that quarter, one upon the neck of another, gave the King's patience a deep wound.

But two of the most noted state-quacks of those times, *Cromwell* and *Cranmer*, (who, as the Author of the *Short View* assures us, *was made Archbishop of Canterbury on purpose to dissolve the King's Marriage*) had prepared a plaister for that sore. ‡ *At a private audience*, which was easily obtained, they assumed the freedom to acquaint his Highness, that it was in vain to wait any longer for a Dispensation from *Rome*, and that, to make any farther attempts that

† *Collier's Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II. B. i. p. 58.

‡ *Cujus Consilii Cromwellus et Cranmerus clam fuisse authores existimabantur.* Antiq. Brit.

way, was only losing so much time. They insinuated too, that a *Secular Supremacy*, established at home, would abundantly supply all his Majesty's present wants and pressing necessities, and completely furnish him with what he seemed to despair of obtaining from the *Vatican*. And in the conclusion, they forgot not to put him in mind, that since the *Spirituality* were now entangled in a *Præmunire*, his Majesty had nothing more to do, than to seize the favourable opportunity, and to push the advantage. These sentiments, so plausible in themselves, and so perfectly agreeable to his inclinations, the King, without much hesitation, embraced; and the hopeful scheme being thus preconcerted, it was signified to the Clergy in pretty strong terms, that "† The King would not be satisfied with the payment of the money, except also they would acknowledge him to be the Supreme Head of the Church." Now here was a new difficulty started, and the Clergy found themselves plunged into new troubles. The King rises in his demands upon them, and he is fixed and unalterable in his resolution, to allow them no other terms of accommodation; with which if the Clergy did not think fit to comply, they were to be informed (by a messenger sent expressly from court for that purpose) that their *humble Petition* for a discharge of the *Præmunire* would be rejected with contempt.

This was indeed a terrible dilemma! but how to get cleverly out of it; how to secure so many estates, lives, and liberties, as now lay at the mercy of an enraged tyrant, *Hic labor, hoc opus!* However, after it had been long and much debated in the Convocation-House, the Clergy stretched the point so far at last, as to recognize the King's *New Title*, and to acknowledge *His Majesty to be the singular Protector, the only and supreme Lord, and also supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England*, As far as is consistent with the Law of Christ. And with this restriction, or limitative clause (of which Bishop *Fisher* is said to have been the author) the Supremacy was submitted to in that Convocation; and by passing both Houses of Parliament, the Submission passed into a law, the King very readily gave his assent to it.—See a remarkable *dissuasive speech* on this subject, spoken by a member of the Privy Council in the King's presence, *Appendix*, No. II.

† *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book v. p. 184.

§ 3. Cromwell *is advanced to the Dignity of* The King's Vicar-General in Spirituals.....*Mr.* Salmon's *Mistake, occasioned by his implicit Faith in Bp.* Burnet.....*King* Henry *discovers the Cruelty of his Temper*.....*He puts to Death the* Old Catholics *and the* New Gospellers *promiscuously*.....*And why*.....*An Abstract of his* Six famous Articles of Religion.....*Mr.* Fuller's *Character of K.* Henry VIII.

It was not long before Cardinal *Wolsey*'s vacant post at court was filled up with the person of his *quondam* Secretary, Mr. *Thomas Cromwell.* This man, during the short time of his administration, is said to have done many *great things*, but not one *good thing* that I have been able to discover. Perhaps his greatest merit lay in suggesting to the King the Dissolution of the Religious Houses, and his bearing hard upon the Jurisdiction of the Clergy. By walking in these paths of iniquity, he soon made his way to the King's confidence. He soon became a star of the first magnitude at court. In short, his pliant conformity with the King's will and pleasure in all things, was amply rewarded with a multiplicity of *lucrative posts* as well as *titles of honour*; for he enjoyed successively the dignities of Master of the Rolls and Lord Privy Seal: he was made a Knight Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, created Earl of *Essex*, appointed Lord High Chamberlain; but higher, and far above all the rest of his titles, was that of *The King's Vicar-General in Spirituals*; a dignity never heard of before, either in the list of officers belonging to the crown of *England*, or to any other kingdom within the limits of Christianity. Nevertheless, this perhaps might be thought to be no impolitic step in those unhappy days of confusion; and perchance the King could not so conveniently rear the *grand structure* of his *Lay-supremacy*, without making use of such a *scaffold.* But be that as it will, this however is pretty certain, that *Cromwell*'s important commission qualified him, not only to take his seat above the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the Convocation-House, but also to transact every thing relative to the King's *Supremacy* in all its branches; of which a modern historian thus very frankly delivers his opinion.

"‡ As the Supremacy was then explained and practised, it was pretty difficult for a man to subscribe to it, for the

‡ *Salmon's History of England*, vol. i. p. 230.

King seemed to claim a power [N. B.] *equal to Christ himself*, when he issued commissions to the Bishops to ordain, consecrate, and administer the Sacraments, and perform all the other parts of their Spiritual Function. The Church was now indeed a Creature of the State, and the Religion of those days not improperly styled *A Parliamentary Religion*. And the King not only looked upon himself as Supreme Head of the Church in the most extended sense, but that he had a power to delegate it to whom he pleased, and accordingly made *Cromwell* his *Vicar-General*, and afterwards his *Vicegerent*, by virtue whereof he took place of the Archbishops and Bishops, as well as the lay nobility."

Now here I must beg leave to take notice, *en passant*, of a mistake our historian has inadvertently made, perhaps by his too implicit faith in Bishop *Burnet*. This unaccountable man (and Mr. *Salmon* after him) very whimsically splits *Thomas Cromwell* into a *Vicar-General* and a *Vicegerent*: whereas it plainly appears (even from *Burnet*'s own *Collection of Records*) that the *Vicar-Generalship* and *Vicegerency* of that famous minister were only two different names expressive of one and the same office. "‡ For, as it happens, this commission of *Cromwell* is still extant. Now by inspecting this *instrument*, it appears that *Cromwell*, by being made Vicar-General, had an entire delegation of the King's *Supremacy*; that he had an authority to visit all the Bishops and Archbishops in the kingdom; and that *Vicar-General* and *Vicegerent* were only two names for the same thing. When this learned historian (as Mr. *Collier* is pleased to style *Burnet*) wrote his *Second Part*, he met with *Cromwell*'s commission for Vicar-General: but then he was not so fortunate as to recollect himself, and acquaint the reader with his former mistake."——No: no. This was something more than could well be expected from one who had made it the business of his whole life to propagate wilful mistakes, to mislead the unguarded, and to impose upon mankind. And let this be a warning to all future historians, never to advance any thing upon the bare credit and sole authority of Bp. *Burnet*. For if that disingenuous writer cannot be relied on in such immaterial incidents as these, how can he be safely trusted to in matters of greater moment? Especially when it is to be considered that, from the time that he first commenced au-

‡ See *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. b. 2. p. 104; and his *Collection of Records*, Nu. XXX.

thor, (if not before) he has had the misfortune to be accounted one of those unhappy folks who are never to be believed, even when they speak truth. But to return to the King.

Now began his *Sublime Highness* (more like a Grand Signor than a Christian Prince) to rule, not the Clergy alone, but all the rest of his subjects, with *a rod of iron!* The cruelty of his temper had hitherto been pretty much suspended; but now he begins, with a vengeance, to dip his hands in blood! the natural consequence of his claim to a *new title!* for, from the moment of his usurping the Spiritual Headship over this National Church, we may date the commencement of that fatal, blood-thirsty frenzy and madness which continued upon him (bating now and then a lucid interval) to his dying day! People of all persuasions lived in continual fear and trembling; and cruel as King *Henry* was to the Catholics, yet neither did he spare the Reformers. Witness *John Lambert* and *Ann Askew*, who were both condemned to the flames, and executed in *Smithfield* pursuant to their sentence, for denying the *Real Presence.*

It would take up too much of our time, to give our Reader, in this place, a *particular* list of the names of all those that were put to death during the latter (and most exceptionable) part of this Prince's reign: so we think it sufficient to observe, in *general*, with Dr. *Heylin*, that "†King *Henry* never spared man in his anger.—For proof of which, it is to be observed, that he brought to the block two Queens, two noble Ladies, one Cardinal declared; of Dukes, Marquises, Earls, and the Sons of Earls, no fewer than twelve; Lords and Knights eighteen; of Abbots and Priors thirteen; Monks and religious Persons about seventy-seven; and more of both religions to a very great number."

Not that persons of *both religions* were executed on the same pretence: for as their religions were different, so were their crimes, and their punishments too. The *Old Catholics* underwent the rigours of the law, as in cases of *Treason* (for it was made ‡ *High Treason* to deny the King's Supremacy, and the *New Gospellers* suffered death as *Heretics*, for refusing their assent to the famous *Six Articles*, of which the following is an abstract.

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 15.

‡ *Majestatis crimen erat, nolnisse hunc Nebucodonoserem adorare, tanquam Christi, eo in Regno Vicarium. Pal. His. Con. Trid.* lib. iv. c. 7, p. 126.

'† Art. I. That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after consecration, no substance of Bread or Wine remaineth, but only the natural Body of *Jesus Christ*.

'II. That the Communion in both kinds is not necessary to salvation, by the law of God, to all persons.

'III. That Priests, after orders received, may not marry, by the law of God.

'IV. That vows of chastity ought to be observed.

'V. That it is meet and necessary that private Masses be admitted, and continued in churches.

'VI. That auricular Confession ought to be frequented by people, as of necessity to salvation.'

The penalty for writing, preaching, or disputing against the *first article*, was, to suffer judgment and execution of *a heretic convert;* and it was made *felony* without benefit of Clergy, or privilege of Church, or Sanctuary, to declare, either by writing or otherwise, against any of the other *five*.

Such was the purport, and such the penalties annexed to King *Henry*'s celebrated *Six Articles of Religion*, styled by Mr. *Fuller*, *The Lash with six Stings, to claw the poor Protestants' Backs*.

But while the King continued the rigour of his persecution against *both religions* indiscriminately, he gave a handle to his enemies to represent him as one, who (by siding with neither party) seemed to have no religion at all himself.

I shall close this section with Mr. *Fuller*'s character of King *Henry* VIII. "‡ All the virtues and vices of his predecessors from the conquest, may seem in him fully represented, both in their kind and degree; learning, wisdom, valour, magnificence, cruelty, avarice, fury, and lust."——That *all* the vices of his predecessors, of every *kind*, should chance to centre in King *Harry the Eighth*, is no incredible thing: but I cannot easily be induced to believe, that he inherited *all* their virtues in any *degree*.

† Vide *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* book v. p. 230.
‡ Ibid. p. 165.

§ 4.—*A short View of some of the most remarkable Acts of Parliament, upon which the King's* Supremacy *was established.*

KING *Henry* having extorted from his reluctant Clergy an acknowledgment of his *Spiritual Headship* over the Church of *England* in the manner already described, his next care was to settle his pretensions, and to fix his title to the *Spirituality* upon the power and authority of his Parliament.

But before his Majesty attempted to establish his *Spiritual Authority* upon this *bottom*, it was thought expedient previously to banish the Pope's *Supremacy*.

'Therefore it was enacted, That all payments made to the Apostolic Chamber, and all Provisions, Bulls, and Dispensations, should from henceforth cease.' But this was not all: for it was further 'enacted and ordained, by authority of this present Parliament, that no manner of speaking, doing, communication, or holding against the Bishop of *Rome*, or his pretended *power*, or *authority*, made or given by human laws and policies, and not by the holy Scripture: nor any speaking, doing, communication or holding against any laws, called *Spiritual Laws*, made by the authority of the See of *Rome*, by the policy of men, which be repugnant or contrarious to the laws and statutes of this realm, or the King's prerogative royal, shall be deemed, reputed, accepted, or taken to be heresy; nor any subject or resiant of this realm shall be impeached or troubled for the same.' *Stat.* 25. H. 8. c. 14.

The Pope's authority being thus put to flight, it was thought proper, in the next place, to defeat the privileges of the Clergy, and this was done accordingly by a *disabling act*, the purport whereof is as follows.

'Whereas the King's humble and obedient subjects, the Clergy of this realm, have not only knowledged according to the truth, that the Convocation of the same is, always has been, and ought to be assembled by the King's writ, but also, submitting to the King's Majesty, have promised *in verbo sacerdotii*, that they will never from henceforth presume to attempt, alledge, claim, or put in use, enact, promulge, or execute any new canons, constitutions, ordinance, provincial or other, or by whatsoever other name they shall be called in the Convocation, unless the King's most royal assent and licence may to them be had, to make,

promulge and execute the same, and that his Majesty do give his royal assent in that behalf.'

"† Before I go any further, 'twill not be improper to take notice of one passage in this preamble, where it is said: *The Clergy of this realm have knowledged according to the truth, that the Convocations always have been, and ought to be, assembled by the King's Writ.* And here it may be said, the penner of this act did not consult the ancient practice: for nothing is more certain, than that the Convocation met frequently by the sole authority of the Archbishop: and that the Clergy insisted upon this method of summons, as one branch of the liberties of *Holy Church:* and that they were thus summoned, we have two instances in this reign. They were once convened without the King's Writ under Archbishop *Wareham*, and afterwards they met by virtue of Cardinal *Wolsey*'s Legatine Authority. 'Tis certain the Clergy in Convocation had acknowledged what the preamble sets forth: but then, that this acknowledgement was *according to the truth*, is more than what appears. Now, with all due submission to the legislative authority, I hope it is no disregard to truth to say, that those who draw a *bill* may be somewhat unacquainted with history, and mistaken in matter of fact. Neither need we wonder a mis-recital of this kind should pass *two houses*. I say we need not wonder at this, since the Clergy had led them into this error in their *submission* to the Crown. For who could have imagined the Clergy should have fallen into such an oversight, wanted skill or courage to maintain their privilege, and contradicted undoubted records to their own disadvantage? ‡ That it was customary for the Bishops, &c. to meet in Synods without the King's Writ, is evident from the form of the Clergy's Submission in the year 1532, at which time they were prevailed upon *in verbo Sacerdotii*, not to assemble from *henceforth* in any Convocation, or Synodal Meeting, but as they should be called by his Majesty's Writ. They promise not to assemble, &c. from *henceforth*, which implies that formerly they used to do otherwise."—[See *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. b. 2. p. 147, where the particle *henceforth* is artfully suppressed.]——But to go on with our preamble:

'And whereas it standeth with natural equity and good reason, that all human laws, and all causes which are called Spiritual, induced into this realm, your Royal

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. b. ii. pp. 83, 84, 85.
‡ *Ibid.* Vol. I. b. v. p. 468.

Majesty, and your Lords Spiritual and Temporal, have full Power and Authority, not only to dispense, but also to authorize some *elect persons*, to dispense with those and all other human Laws of this Realm, as the quality of the persons and matter shall require; as also the said Laws to abrogate, admit, amplify, or diminish.

'Be it therefore enacted, that from henceforth every Licence, Dispensation, &c. that in cases of necessity may lawfully be granted, without offending the holy Scripture and the laws of God, necessary for your Highness, and for your Subjects, shall be granted in manner following, that is to say: The Archbishop of *Canterbury* shall have power to grant them to your Majesty. And if the aforesaid Archbishop shall refuse, or deny to grant any Licences, Dispensations, &c. that then, upon examination had in your Court of Chancery, that such Licences may be granted without offending against the Scriptures, your Highness may command the Archbishop to grant them, under such penalties as shall be expressed in the Writ of Injunction.' *Stat.* 25. H. 8. c. 19.

Thus the *Power of the Pope* and the *Liberties of Holy Church* being entirely demolished, the wisdom of the nation thought fit, in the last place, to erect the grand pillar of the Reformation, *the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy*, upon the ruins of them both. How this was done the following Act declares.

'Albeit the King's Majesty, justly and rightfully, is and ought to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and is recognized by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for encrease of vertue in *Christ*'s Religion within this Realm of *England*, and to repress and extirpe all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses, heretofore used in the same, be it enacted, by the authority of this present Parliament, that the King our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of *England*, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*, and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as well the title and stile thereof, as all honours, dignities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of Supreme Head belonging and appertaining. And that our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to visit, repress, re-

dress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of Spiritual Authority or Jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, redressed, ordered, repressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the encrease of vertue in Christ's Religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.' *Stat.* 26. H. 8. c. 1.

"* This Act grants the King *full power and authority to visit, order, and reform all heresies, abuses, &c. which by any manner of Spiritual Authority or Jurisdiction may lawfully be ordered or reformed.* This clause declares the King † *Supreme Ordinary*, makes his Majesty, and by consequence those commissioned by him, judges of heresy, and puts the Ecclesiastical Discipline into their hands. And yet, by the 20th article of the Reformation, *the Church is said to have power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.* This *article* pronounces the Church the judge in matters of faith, and seems to contradict the *Statute* before us. But notwithstanding this inconsistency, the *Thirty-nine Articles* were confirmed by Act of Parliament in the reign of Q. *Elizabeth.*"

But leaving Q. *Elizabeth* to authorize *inconsistencies* and *contradictions* by Act of Parliament, proceed we to recount another remarkable *statute*, enacted in the days of her father. It sets forth:

'That Archbishops, Bishops, and Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, have no manner of Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, but by, under, and from his Majesty.'—Farther, 'That all persons, whether married or unmarried, being doctors of the civil law, who shall be deputed to be any chancellor, commissary, &c. may lawfully exercise all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, any constitution to the contrary notwithstanding.'—And finally, 'That his Majesty is the only undoubted Supreme Head of the Church of *England* and of *Ireland*, to whom, by holy Scripture, all authority and power is wholly given, to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct vice.' *Stat.* 37. H. 8. c. 17.

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. b. 2, p. 88.

† "The King is the SUPREME ORDINARY." *Coke.* See also *Wood's Institutes.*

And thus was the Crown of *England*, by Act of Parliament, absolutely invested with *all authority and power ecclesiastical*, and that too (if you will believe the act) *by holy Scripture;* but the chapter and verse, I profess, I cannot find. One thing, however, I can easily find, and that is, that among other *abuses* and *enormities*, the *Divine Institution* of Episcopal Authority is not only *redressed*, but *suppressed* too, if not entirely abolished, *by the policy of men.* The Bishops, &c. are declared (as such) to have no *jurisdiction* at all, but *by*, *under*, and *from* his Majesty. And, to crown the last act of the *drama*, King *Harry* VIII. (like *Cato* in the senate-house) sets himself up for a reformer of *heresies*, a restrainer of *enormities*, and a corrector of *vice!*

"*Tertius è cælo cecidit Cato!*".....Juv. Sat. 2.

"*Rome* now must needs reform, and vice be stopt,
Since a third *Cato* from the clouds is dropt!"...*Dryd.*

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§ 5.—*A Recapitulation of King* Henry's *Spiritual Powers and Prerogatives*....*Reflections upon them*....*Bp.* Bramhall's *Objections answered.*

NEVER surely were *English* Parliaments more complaisant to their sovereign, than in the reign of King *Henry the Eighth.* With surprising and almost incredible alacrity they accommodated themselves to his humour; they subscribed, without reserve, to his capricious measures; and frankly adopted all his schemes, tho' never so out of the way or extravagant. They had already joined with him in great business of extirpating the Pope's Supremacy: and when that was done, they very generously made a present of it to his Majesty; which he as graciously accepted of. What *use* he made of it is to be the subject of a future enquiry. In the mean time, it is to be presumed, a brief recapitulation of this Monarch's Spiritual Powers and Prerogatives will be no unentertaining amusement to the reader. Wherefore, in consequence of an open rupture with the See of *Rome*, the King immediately challenged,

1. An entire possession of all *jurisdictions*, *honours*, *dignities*, *profits*, and *emoluments*, belonging or appertaining to the *Supreme Head of the Church of England;* which (toge-

ther with the *title*) were annexed for ever to the Imperial Crown of thi realm.

2. A fulness of power, to correct and punish all *errors*, *heresies*, *enormities*, and *vices*; and to exercise all manner of *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*.

3. A plenitude of authority, to depute his vicegerent, his doctors of the civil law, his chancellors, commissaries, &c. to execute all manner of *Spiritual Jurisdiction*, with a *non obstante* to any constitutions, customs, &c. to the contrary.

4. An unlimited power, not only to grant *Dispensations* from the throne, but also to authorize some *elect persons* to dispense with all *Ecclesiastical Laws*, without the consent of the Clergy, or of any lawful Church Authority.

5. An absolute power to supersede the jurisdiction and authority of Archbishops, Bishops, &c. and to pronounce them deprived of all *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, except such only as they might obtain and enjoy *by*, *under*, and *from* his Majesty.

6. A power to *amplify* or *diminish*, *admit* or *abrogate*, the *Ecclesiastical Laws* of this realm *ad libitum*.

7. A power to grant *Licences*, *Dispensations*, *Faculties*, &c. to be himself (or, if he pleased, his Court of Chancery, or any other deputy) the *dernier resource*, or final judge in matters of controversy; to whom (and no farther) appeals might be made, concerning what is agreeable or repugnant to *holy Scripture* and the *Law of God*.

8. A power to define, that no *speaking*, *doing*, or *holding* against any *spiritual laws* shall be deemed to be *heresy*.

9. A power, not only to suspend any spiritual person or persons that shall preach or teach contrary to the *determinations* which are or shall be set forth by his Majesty; but also to condemn every such offender, after the third offence, to suffer (as an *heretick*) the *pains of death by burning*. *Vide* Stat. 34 and 35 H. 8. c. 1.

10. A power to restrain all foreign appeals, censures, and processes, not only in cases when the *regality of the crown*, the civil government, or the interest of the subjects were concerned, but likewise in such as are merely spiritual, and entirely subjected to *spiritual cognizance*.

Lastly, he challenged a power to declare all canons, constitutions, &c. made or published by the Clergy without the *royal assent*, to be null and void.

Such were the powers and such the prerogatives which King *Henry* VIII. with the concurrence of his obsequious

Parliaments, extorted from the Church. And granting now that a set of modern statutes and acts of Parliament might serve for a ground-work to a *Parliamentary Religion*, yet I presume I may nevertheless venture to say, that *From the beginning it was not so.* Canon law and ecclesiastical constitutions were *rules of practice* to all the kings of this island, from its conversion to Christianity, till that memorable period when the Religion of *England* first became *parliamentary*, i. e. till the unhappy days of King *Henry the Eighth.* And if so, we may conclude his noble progenitors fell vastly short of their proportionable dividend of power, in case this monarch had no more of it than came *fairly* and *honestly* to his share. For we defy all the advocates for the Lay Supremacy to show us, what particular crowned Head it was, in all the royal list of King *Henry*'s predecessors, that ever challenged the above recited powers, or ever attempted to advance the prerogative royal to that exorbitant height it was carried to, towards the latter end of his distinguished reign.

But behold *King Harry the Eighth*'s *Champion!* Behold a formidable *Dimock* in lawn sleeves! Behold Bp. *Bramhall* advancing against us, and with a magisterial and decisive air, objecting that, "* To be Head of the *English* Church is neither more nor less than our laws and histories, ancient and modern, do every where ascribe to our *English* Kings."

In answer to this, we beg leave to observe, that our author's *neither more nor less* amounts to nothing *more* and nothing *less*, than just *nothing at all!* For if by the *Head of the English Church* our wise objector means *nothing more* than a *political head*, vested with proper authority to govern all his subjects, of all ranks and degrees, whether ecclesiastical or lay persons, we grant what he advances to be true. But then, what is it to the purpose? For upon a very superficial inspection into our *laws* and *histories*, it may easily be perceived, that something *more* than this comes to was actually ceded to King *Henry* VIII. by his pliant Parliaments. We may find that he was the first of our *English* Kings that ever styled himself *the Supreme Head of the Church of England*, the first that ever annexed the *Supremacy* to the imperial crown of this realm, the first that ever made it *treason* to deny or refuse him that title. All which particularities are as plain and evi-

* *Bram. Schism Guarded*, p. 88. *Gravenhagh*, 1658.

dent in *our histories*, as that there was such a man as King *Henry* VIII.

But our author goes on, and in the same dictatorial strain assures us, that "*The ancient Kings of *England* did assume as much power in ecclesiastical affairs as *Henry the Eighth did.*

Did they so? But where's the proof of this groundless and arbitrary assertion? For truly we are not disposed implicitly and blindly to subscribe to the Doctor's *ipse dixit.* We owe no such deference to his authority. On the contrary, we positively say and maintain, he imposes upon his reader, by his too boldly advancing, that *the ancient Kings of England did assume as much power in ecclesiastical affairs as King Henry the Eighth did.* For, in the obvious sense and meaning of these words, *nothing less* is imported, than that *all* King *Henry the Eighth*'s predecessors invaded the Spiritual Prerogatives of the Church, and trampled upon the privileges of the Clergy in the same manner and with the same insolence *as he did.* But this we do aver to be a palpable mistake, if not something worse.

Nor is it any thing to the purpose in this dispute, to quote the vastly unaparallel cases of *Henry* II. and *Richard* II. The first, it is very well known, was only engaged in a private dispute with an Archbishop of *Canterbury:* tho' the contest of the latter, we confess, was of a more public nature, and makes some little noise in history, but more in controversy, upon the account of a noted *præmunire*-act, which passed into a law in the 16th year of this prince's reign. Which act, because it is said, by some injudicious writers, to give a mortal stab to the Pope's Supremacy, it may not, we presume, be disagreeable to the reader, to have a clear and distinct view of it laid before him.

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§ 6.—*King* Richard the Second's *famous Statute of* Præmunire... *Remarks upon it.*

REPEATED attempts have been made, from time to time, by the advocates of the lay-supremacy, to extenuate at least, tho' we think it scarce possible to *vindicate*, King *Henry the Eighth's* unexampled encroachments upon the *immunities* of the Church and her *sacred patrimony.*

† *Schism Guarded*, p. 264.

Some will have it, that his Majesty did not budge one step beyond the boundaries prefixed by *the ancient king's of England*, his predecessors. But this opinion is manifestly inconsistent with the authentic records of the history of *Great Britain*. Others fancy King *Henry*'s conduct to be perfectly similar, if not all of a piece with that of King *Richard* II. This is fancy indeed! and nothing else. For whoever is disposed, (without passion or prejudice) to balance the respective *pretensions* of these two kings, and the *principles* upon which they acted, will be hard put to it, I believe, to discover any thing like a *similarity* in their *proceedings*. To give a few instances.

Henry boldly challenged and laid claim to every branch of the *spiritual power: Richard* was modestly content to assert his *temporal authority*. *Henry* insisted upon being constituted *Head of the Church: Richard* resolved to maintain (and who can blame him for it?) the *regality of his crown*. *Henry* would be independent, and subject to no earthly power in *spirituals: Richard* affected the same independency in *temporals* only. And the truth of these observations is evidently demonstrable from the following particulars which we are going to recite. (1) The Archbishop of *Canterbury's Protestation*. (2) The *preamble* to the act. (3) The *act* itself. To which shall be added a few *remarks*, in order to explain the nature and design of the celebrated *statute* now before us.

Let it be observed then, that upon the *Commons* bringing in a bill (by way of *petition*) against some papal encroachments which, in those days, were thought to bear somewhat too hard upon the prerogative royal, *William Courtenay*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, stood up, protested and gave his opinion in the High Court of Parliament, in *answer* to the *petition* of the House of Commons: and as this was a leading step to what followed, so we shall commence our account of the whole affair from

The Archbishop's *Protestation*.

'*To our dread Sovereign Lord the King in this present Parliament, his humble Chaplain, *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, gives in his answer to the Petition brought into Parliament by the Commons of the Realm, in which Petition are contained certain articles, that is to say:

'Whereas our said Sovereign Lord the King and all his liege subjects ought of right to sue in the King's Court, to recover their presentments to churches, prebends, &c. But

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. I. b. v. pp. 594, 595.

now of late divers processes be made by the Bishop of *Rome*, and censures of excommunication upon certain Bishops of *England*, because they have made execution of such commands, &c. The Archbishop protests,—that 'twas not of his intention to affirm our Holy Father the Pope has no authority to excommunicate a Bishop, pursuant to the Laws of Holy Church, declares and answers, that if any executions of processes are made, or shall be made, by any person ; if any censures of excommunication shall be published and served upon any *English* Bishops, or any of the King's subjects, for having made execution of any such commands, he maintains such censures to be prejudicial to the King's Prerogative, as is set forth in the *Common' Petition:* and that so far forth he is resolved to stand with our Lord the King, and support his crown in the matters above mentioned, to his power.

'And likewise, whereas it is said in the *Petition*, that complaint has been made that the said holy Father the Pope has designed to translate some *English* Prelates out of the realm, and some from one Bishoprick to another, within the same realm, without the King's assent and knowledge, and without the consent of the Prelates which shall be so translated, &c.

'The said Archbishop, first protesting that it is not his intention to affirm that our holy Father aforesaid cannot make translations of Prelates, according to the laws of holy Church, answers and declares, that if any *English* Prelates, who by their capacity and qualifications were very serviceable and necessary to our Lord the King and his Realm, if any such Prelates were translated to any sees in foreign dominions, or the sage lieges of his council were forced out of the kingdom against their will, and that by this means the wealth and treasure of the kingdom should be exported; in this case, the Archbishop declares, that such translations would be prejudicial to the King and his Crown : for which reason, if any thing of this should happen, he resolves to adhere loyally to the King, and endeavour, as he is bound by his allegiance, to support his Highness, in this and all other instances in which the rights of the crown are concerned. And lastly, he prayed the King this schedule might be made a record, and entered upon the Parliament Roll, which the King granted.' From this recital of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s protestation, proceed we, in the next place, for the further information of our reader, to transcribe

The *Preamble* to the Act.

'*Whereas the Commons of the realm, in the present Parliament, have sued unto our redoubted Lord the King, grievously complaining, that whereas the said our Lord the King, and all his liege people, ought of right, and of old times were wont to sue in the King's Court, to recover their presentments to churches, prebends, and other benefices of holy Church to the which they had a right to present, the cognizance or plea of which presentment belongeth only to the King's Court, of the old right of his Crown, used and approved in the time of his progenitors, Kings of *England*. But now of late divers processes be made by the Bishop of *Rome*, and censures of excommunication upon certain Bishops of *England*, because they have made execution of such commandments, to the open disherison of the said Crown, and destruction of our said Lord the King, his law, and all his realm, if remedy be not provided. And also it is said, and a common clamour is made, that the said Bishop of *Rome* hath ordained and purposed to translate some Prelates of the said realm out of the realm, and some from one bishopric to another within the same realm, without the King's assent and knowledge, and without the assent of the Prelates which so shall be translated; which Prelates be much profitable and necessary to our said Lord the King and to all his realm: by which translations (if they should be suffered) the statutes of the realm should be defeated and made void, and his said liege sages of his council, without his assent, and against his will, carried away and gotten out of this realm, and the substance and treasure of the realm shall be carried away, and so the realm become destitute, as well of council as of substance, to the final destruction of the same realm: and so the crown of *England*, which hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God, in all things touching the regality of the same crown, and to none other, should be submitted to the Pope, and the laws and statutes of the realm by him defeated and avoided at his will, in perpetual destruction of the sovereignty of the King our Lord, his crown, his regality, and of all his realm, which God defend.

'And moreover it was demanded of the Lords Spiritual there being, and the procurators of others being absent, their advice and will in all these cases; which Lords, that is to say, the Archbishops and Bishops, and other Prelates, be-

† *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book iv. p. 145, 146, 147.

ing in the said Parliament severally examined, making protestations, that it is not their mind to deny or affirm that the Bishop of *Rome* may not excommunicate, nor that he may make translation of Prelates, after the law of holy Church, answered and said, that if any execution of processes made in the King's Court (as before) be made by any, and censures of excommunication be made against any Bishops in *England*, or any other of the King's liege people, for that they have made execution of such commandments, and that if any execution of such translations be made of any Prelates of the same realm, which Prelates be very profitable and necessary to our said Lord the King and to his said realm, or that the sage people of his council, without his assent, and against his will, be removed and carried out of the realm, so that the substance and treasure of the realm may be consumed; that the same is against the King and his crown, as is contained in the Petition before named. And likewise the same procurators, every one by himself, examined upon the said matters, have answered and said, in the name and for their lords, as the said Bishops have said and answered, and that the said Lords Spiritual will and ought to be with the King, in these cases, in lawfully maintaining of his crown, and all other cases touching his crown and his regality, as they be bound by their liegiance.'

After this preambular Remonstrance, corroborated by reciprocal engagements and protestations of both the Houses, to stand by and support the Crown, in the cases abovementioned, immediately follows

The enacting Part of the *Statute*.

'Whereupon our said Lord the King, by the assent aforesaid, and at the request of his said Commons, hath ordained and established, that if any purchase or pursue, or cause to be purchased and pursued, in the Court of *Rome*, or elsewhere, any such translations, processes, and sentences of excommunication, bulls, instruments, or any other things whatsoever, which touch the King, his crown, and his regality, or his realm, or them receive, or make thereof notification, or any other execution whatsoever, within the same realm, or without, that they, their notaries, procurators, maintainers, abettors, fautors, and counsellors, shall be put out of the King's protection, and their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, forfeited to our Lord the King. And that they be attached by their bodies, if they may be found, and brought before the King and his council, there to answer to the causes aforesaid, or

that process be made against them by *Præmunire facias*, in manner as is ordained in other Statutes of *Provisors*.'

Remarks upon this Act.

This is the famous Statute of *Præmunire*, which, by some polemic writers, has been injudiciously represented, styled, and proclaimed a *necking-blow* to the Pope's Supremacy, and the original *Magna Charta* of the Royal Supreme Power Ecclesiastical.

But, for our part, we must confess it is beyond our skill and penetration to discover, in this Act, any thing that can be fairly construed into a formed design to demolish the Pope's Supremacy; and much less to establish a Lay-Supremacy in the place of it. On the contrary, it plainly appears to have been made with no other view or design, but only to *guarantee* the *Temporal Privileges* of the Prince and his Subjects from foreign encroachments, and to preserve *the balance of power* (if I may be allowed the expression) in a just equipoise, between the *mitre* and the *crown*, with regard to *temporalities* only. And in this sense Archbishop *Courteney* undoubtedly understood it, when he *protested* and engaged *to support his Highness* [the King] *in this and all other instances in which the* Rights of the Crown *are concerned.*

It cannot therefore be pretended, that the Pope's Supremacy is utterly defeated by the above-recited Act, without imposing such a sense, and putting such a construction upon it, as it was never intended to bear. For with *doctrinal matter* (such as the Pope's Supremacy is) it meddles not at all, no, nor so much as mentions, and much less discards. Whence we infer, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the rest of the Prelates might, without any difficulty, hesitation, or scruple of conscience, freely subscribe (as indeed they did) to the truth of this proposition, *That the crown of* England *is immediately subject to God in all things touching the* Regality *of the same crown.* But then, their Lordships were so cautious as to put in a *caveat*, even against this subscription, by protesting solemnly, at the same time, *that it was neither their will nor intention* to infringe or prejudice the Pope's Spiritual Jurisdiction; but leave his excommunications upon *civil accounts*, his power of making *translations of Bishops*, &c. in their full force and vigour. And thus did they wisely stand up in defence of the *civil rights* of their Sovereign, without breaking in upon the *Spiritual Supremacy* of the Bishop of *Rome*, which, in reality, they left uncontested.

As for the prohibition of appeals to *Rome*, on account of

presentments to churches, prebends, and other benefices, it is no argument against the Pope's Authority. Appeals to that court, in matters relating to *discipline*, are disallowed in other kingdoms, which nevertheless are well known to be zealous and steady in maintaining the Pope's Supremacy in all *matters of doctrine*.

But it is wrong to suppose that *doctrinal points* were the subject of the famous statute now in question. And, as a proof of this, we appeal to the following heads of complaint: First, that the Pope refused the King's and other inferior lay-presentments of churchmen (otherwise duly qualified) to church benefices or livings, without giving his reasons for such refusals. Secondly, that the Pope translated *English* Bishops from one Bishoprick to another within this realm, and sometimes out of the realm too, without the King's assent, and even against his will: whereby the King's *liege sages*, (as the Act styles such of the Bishops as were privy-counsellors) as well as the *substance* and *treasure* of the realm were carried away and exported into foreign countries. And what are all these but *temporal considerations?*

When therefore *King Richard the Second* took up a resolution to redress the *grievances* complained of by the *Commons of England*, and determined at last to exert himself in defence of the *Regality of his Crown*, can he be justly blamed for so doing? The means he employed and the measures he pursued were deemed, in those days, to be far from unjustifiable in themselves, and the *Premunire* Act was then looked upon, even by the Lords Spiritual, as an expedient prudently devised and wisely contrived, to answer the great end of *rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's;* but without excluding the other part of the evangelical precept, which enjoins the duty of *yielding to God the things that* (by being consecrated to the *Use* of his Church) *belong to God.*

And did King *Henry the Eighth* confine his pretensions within these modest and moderate bounds? Did he contend with *the great obstacle of his desires*, only about some few *instances in which the* Rights of the Crown *were concerned?* Did he challenge nothing more than mere *temporalities?* Was his dispute with the Pope *only* about his Regality? And was there no such thing as *Supremacy* in the case? To maintain the negative, a man should be stocked with a fund of assurance sufficient to outface the most plain and positive records, and be duly qualified to turn the most serious history into fiction and romance. For

it is notoriously known to all the world, that this Prince's ambitious views, and insatiable lust of power, instead of being confined to *temporalities* only, were extended so far, as to take in every particular branch of the *Spiritual Authority*, every individual *Prerogative* of the See of *Rome*.

By way of supplement to the Regal Supremacy, we recommend to the reader's perusal *An Extract of a curious Discourse* upon that subject. It is in the *Appendix*, No. III.

And so, for the present, we shall take leave of *Old King Harry*; it being our intention, in the next place, to entertain our reader with a short view of his children's respective *supremacies*. At our next interview with his *Highness*, (in the second part of these *Memoirs*) we shall be melancholy spectators of the dire *effects*, the dismal *consequences*, and the deplorable *use* he made of his Churchheadship.

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§ 7.—*King* Edward VI. *succeeds his Father*..... *His* Minority *is* abused *to the Prejudice of the Church, and his* Conscience *is unserviceably* directed..... *Dr.* Heylin's *Character of King* Edward's *Parliament*..... *Mr.* Collier *admits the Truth of it*..... *The Doctor dates the commencement of the* Reformation of England *from the Beginning of this Reign*..... *Mr.* Fuller's *whimsical Account of the Rise and Progress of* Nonconformity, *or* Puritanism.

Upon the demise of King *Henry* VIII. the Crown of *England* devolved to his only Son, who, with all the solemnities usual upon such occasions, was proclaimed by the name, style, and title of *King Edward the Sixth*. Whether or no this Prince was ushered into the world by the uncommon method of a *Cæsarean Operation*, I shall not take upon me positively to assert or deny; though several authors of no mean credit maintain the *affirmative* to be matter of fact: and Mr. *Fuller* in particular calls it *A constant Tradition*. But let this *birth* be as it will, certain it is, that " † His *minority* was abused to many acts of spoil and rapine, even to a high degree of sacrilege. And among many other instances of the sacrilegious acts of this reign, the reader is desired to take notice of the following ones.

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 131.

"† Private men's halls were hung with altar cloths, their tables and beds covered with copes instead of carpets and coverlets. Many drank at their meals in chalices; and no wonder if, in proportion, it came to the share of their horses to be watered in rich coffins of marble!"—And can such flagrant abuses and prophanations of holy things amount to any thing less than *a high degree of sacrilege?*"

"‡ As to King *Edward*, notwithstanding his advantages by nature and education, it is pretty plain his conscience was not always under a serviceable direction. He was under wrong prepossessions as to Church Government. He would have no authority given in general to Bishops: but that the best of them should have *commissions* to exercise their functions in their diocese, and the rest as it were laid by and disabled. And thus he was educated to an opinion of his being the fountain of all *spiritual* as well as *temporal* power.—[And he may thank the director of his conscience, D. *Cranmer*, for his being *educated* in this opinion.] —Some politicians about him formed his mind to their interest, flattered his childhood, and misled his understanding. That he was not always under a happy management, may be farther collected from some arbitrary *commissions* and strains of law in *deprivation* of Bishops. He seems to have had no notion of *sacrilege*. — [How should he, when a certain *great man* had taught him, by his own sad example, to commit that sin without scruple.] —Had he been bred to the same aversion to this *crime* which he expressed against *images* and the *mass*, he would never have taken such freedoms with the consecrated revenues, nor impoverished the Church to so lamentable a degree: and which is somewhat remarkable, most of these hardships were put upon the *ecclesiastics* in the latter end of his reign, when his judgment was in the best condition."

But may it not, without offence, be questioned if his judgment was ever in a *good* condition? Alas! what great maturity of judgment could be supposed to reside in a mere boy? For at his father's death he was but nine years old. At this early period of life (and perhaps before he had thoroughly learned his catechism) it may be thought not only *somewhat remarkable*, but also *very astonishing* in him, to undertake that important business, that grand affair, *The Steerage of the Church*. Yet, notwithstanding

† *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book vii. p. 417.
‡ *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. Book iv. p. 332.

the disadvantages of his *childhood* and inexperience, to this high post was King *Edward* advanced. For it appears upon record that he had the title of *Supreme Head of the Church*, and every *ghostly prerogative* annexed to that *magnificent title*, conferred upon him by the authority of his *Parliament:* the character whereof is thus given us by Dr. *Heylin*.

"† And now it is time to attend the Parliament, in which the cards were so well packed by Sir *Ralph Sadler*, that there was no need of any shuffling till the end of the game; this very Parliament, without any sensible alteration of the members of it, being continued by prorogation from session to session, until at last it ended by the death of the King. And tho' the Parliament consisted of such members as disagreed among themselves in point of religion, yet agreed well enough in one common *principle*, which was to *serve* the present time, and *preserve* themselves. For though a great part of the nobility, and not a few of the chief gentry in the House of Commons, were cordially affected to the Church of *Rome*, yet were they willing to give way to such acts and statutes as were made against it, out of a fear of losing such church lands as they were possessed of, if that religion should prevail and get up again. And for the rest, who either were to *make* or *improve* their fortunes, there is no question to be made but that they came resolved to further such a *reformation* as should most visibly conduce to the advancement of their *several ends*."——Mr. *Collier* seems to admit of this *character* of King *Edward*'s parliamentary assembly; at least he expresses no disapprobation of it, when he tells us, that "‡ The members of this Parliament, as *Heylin* relates, though of different sentiments with regard to religion, yet agreed in a common principle, to strike in with the juncture, to take care of themselves, and to close with such a reformation as served best for their purpose.—This seems pretty evident by the testimony of some of the *Acts*, which in *Heylin*'s opinion, seem to overlook the concerns of religion, and aim at private interest in a very remarkable manner."

And truly we agree with our historians, that a Parliament made up of mercenary, time-serving members, disagreeing in every thing but the *common principle* of self-interest, was sure to advance nothing but what had a visible tendency towards the *creation* or *improvement* of *estates*

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 47, 48.
‡ *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. Book iv. p. 233.

and *fortunes*. Add to this, that even those *who were cordially affected to the Church of Rome*, readily concurred with the rest to vote down the Old Church, for fear of losing their new Ecclesiastical Acquisitions. Such, and so universal, were the corruption and depravity of the times! But to return to the King.

He was now under the sole management and direction of the Lord Protector *Somerset*, a rigid *Zuinglian*; so no wonder if *Zuinglianism* should prevail, and become, at this juncture, the established religion of *England*. At least it wanted no encouragement as long as the *Grand Duke* continued in power. And he only wanted time to destroy the Hierarchy, or Episcopal Government, and to erect the *Swiss* form of worship upon the ruins of it. And, perhaps, it is no improbable conjecture that, "† If this King [*Edward*] had reigned any considerable time, the Hierarchy of the Church would probably have been destroyed, and the National Religion reduced to the form of *Geneva*. For *Somerset* himself was a *Zuinglian*, and the rest of the great men of his time inclined more to the rigid principles of *Calvinism*, than the present constitution of the Church of *England*."

But without amusing our reader with probabilities or conjectures, this, we think, may be advanced as a certainty, that from the beginning of King *Edward*'s reign, we may date the commencement of *The Reformation of England*. And Dr. *Heylin* is clearly of this opinion‡. "From the beginning of this reign," says he, "the Reformation began. All that was done in order to it under King *Henry the Eighth* seemed but accidental only, and by the by, rather designed on private ends, than out of any settled purpose of a reformation. But now the great work was carried on with a constant hand.—But of all the *constant hands* employed upon this occasion, nobody was thought more constant than the Duke of *Somerset*, who, as chief architect, conducted *the great work* in such a manner as might best answer his own private interest; from which he never departed. And that it might be the more acceptable to the *English*, (so naturally fond of new things from abroad) it was *designed* upon a foreign plan, and *built* upon *Zuinglian* foundations.

But as soon as the *great work* appeared above ground, it had the misfortune, it seems, to be opposed, *vi et armis*, by a queer set of folks, under the denomination of Non-

† *Short View*, p. 198. ‡ *Heylin's Preface to his Hist. Ref.*

conformists, or *Puritans*. This name was given them, as it is supposed, because they either could not, or would not, conform to the *Religion of the Court*; stiffly maintaining the *necessity* of a further and still purer *Reformation*. Hence their way of worship came to be styled *Nonconformity*. Of the rise and progress whereof, Mr. *Fuller* has left us the following whimsical account.

"* Nonconformity in the days of King *Edward* was *conceived*, which afterwards in the reign of Queen *Mary* (but beyond the sea at *Frankfort*) was *born*, which in the reign of Q. *Elizabeth* was *nursed* and *weaned*, which under King *James* grew up a young youth, or *tall stripling*, but towards the end of King *Charles*'s reign, shot up to the strength and stature of a *man* [he might have said a giant] able not only to cope with, but conquer the hierarchy its adversary. And this conquest was actually made during the time of *Oliver Cromwell*'s usurpation."

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§ 8.—*Some Account of the Dissolution of the Bishoprick of* Durham.

The Duke of *Somerset* being taken off in the meridian of his glory, by an unlucky stroke of an axe on *Tower-hill*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, from that time, became the great and mighty man. He governed as he pleased, not the King alone, but the kingdom too; and engrossed all the power, and every prerogative of a sovereign, excepting only the name. He was an enemy to the Church, but with no other view than to enrich himself. In fine, he committed many *sacrilegious depredations;* but that which made the most noise, was his bold attempt upon the rich, and therefore tempting Bishoprick of *Durham*.

The opulence of this See was the great, and, it is believed, the only crime that provoked the great *Dudley* to contrive its ruin. For he was politician enough to perceive it might be an easy matter (after it was by parliamentary authority annexed to the crown) to procure a grant of it to himself. This was his project. And in order to facilitate the execution of it, he neither wanted power nor interest to procure an *Act of Parliament*. As this act is somewhat curious and uncommon, so we thought it might not be improper to subjoin a recital of it; not only upon that ac-

* *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book vii. p. 401.

count, but also because we shall have occasion to mention the *repeal* of it in the next reign.—It sets forth:

'† That that Bishoprick being then void of a Prelate, so that the gift thereof was in the King's pleasure; and the compass of it being so large, extending to so many shires so far distant, that it could not be sufficiently served by one Bishop; and since the King, according to his godly disposition, was desirous to have God's holy word preached in these parts, which were wild and barbarous, for lack of good preaching and good learning; therefore he intended to have two Bishopricks in that diocese, the one at *Duresme*, which should have 2000 marks revenue, and another at *Newcastle*, which should have 1000 marks revenue; and also to found a Cathedral at *Newcastle*, with a Deanry and Chapter, out of the revenues of the Bishoprick. Therefore the Bishoprick of *Duresme* is utterly extinguished and dissolved, and authority is given for letters patent to erect the two new Bishopricks, together with the Deanry and Chapter at *Newcastle;* with a proviso, that the rights of the Deanry, Chapter, and Cathedral of *Duresme*, should suffer nothing by this act.'

Yet, notwithstanding this *proviso* (which is only thrown in by way of a sweetener), it is easy to conceive that the *Deanry*, Chapter and Cathedral of *Durham*, must inevitably have suffered very much in their *ancient rights*, in case this *Act* had been carried into full execution. But, luckily for that wealthy Bishoprick, the Duke of *Northumberland* was made shorter by the head before he could find time to dissipate or dismember it.—"‡ Had such a dissipation of the parts thereof been made, no less than a state-miracle had been requisite for a recollection thereof. Whereas now within two years, Queen *Mary* restored *Tonstal* to this Bishoprick, and this Bishoprick to itself, resettling all the lands on the same."

To these reflections I have nothing more to add, but that the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter of the Cathedral of Durham, are bound in gratitude to entertain and preserve an inviolable respect for the name and memory of Queen *Mary*, to whose piety and bounty they are indebted for their *lands* and *livings*, which are well known to be very considerable.

† *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* Vol. II. Book i. p. 215.
‡ *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book vi. p. 419.

§ 9.—*Queen* Mary *disclaims the* Supremacy, *and reconciles this Nation to the See of* Rome *by its* Representatives *in Parliament.....Cardinal* Pole, *in Quality of the Pope's Legate, absolves them from all Ecclesiastical Censures.*

KING *Edward* being dead, his sister, the Princess *Mary*, after a short struggle with the Lady *Jane Gray*, stept into the throne: and being a zealous Catholic, the *Supremacy in Spirituals* was immediately disclaimed by her, as a thing inconsistent with her religion and principles. So the first public business she set her hand to, was the great work of reconciling her kingdom of *England* once more to the See of *Rome;* and this she effected by the ready concurrence of this nation's *representatives* in her first Parliament, where both the Houses being assembled (and King *Philip* being likewise present) a supplication or petition was drawn up and presented to their Majesties, of which the following is a copy.

'† We the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, representing the whole bodie of the realme of *England* and dominions of the same, in the name of ourselves particularly, and also of the sayd bodie universally, offer this our most humble supplication to your Majesties, to this ende and effect, that the same, by your Grace's intercession and meane, may be exhibited to the most Reverend Father in God the Lord Cardinal *Pole*, sent specially hether from our most holy Father Pope *Julius* the Thirde, and the See Apostolique of *Rome*, wherein we do declare ourselves very sorry and repentaunt of the long schisme and disobedience committed in this realme and the dominions of the same agaynst the sayd See Apostolique; eyther by making, agreeing to, or executing any lawes, ordinaunces, and commaundements, agaynst the primacy of the same See; or otherwise doyng, or speaking that might impugne or prejudice the same: offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of this our sayd repentance, we be, and shall be ever readie, under and with the authorities of your Majesties, to the uttermost of our power, to that shall lye in us, for the abrogation and repealyng of all the sayd lawes and ordinaunces, made or enacted to the prejudice of the See Apostolique; as well for ourselves as for the whole bodie whom we represent. Wherefore most

† *Parliamentary Hist. of England*, Vol. III. p. 321.

humbly we beseech your Majesties as personages undefiled in the offence of this bodie towards the sayd See, to set forth this our humble suyte, as we the rather, by your intercession, maye obteine from the See Apostolique, by the sayd most Reverend Father, as well particularly as generally, *absolution*, *release*, and *discharge*, from all daungers of such censures and sentences, as, by the lawes of the Church, we be fallen into. And that we may, as children repentaunt, be receyved into the bosome and unitie of *Christe*'s Church, so as this noble realme, with all the members thereof, may in this unitie and perfect obedience to the See Apostolique and Popes for the tyme beyng, serve God and your Majesties to the furtheraunce and advauncement of his honour and glorie. *Amen*.'

"This humble Petition," continues my Author, "being first openly read, the same was delivered by the Chancellor to the King and Queen, with a request to them, that they would give it to the Lord Cardinal. Their Majesties rising off their seats, and doing reverence to the Cardinal, did deliver the said Petition to him. Who perceiving the effect thereof to answer his expectation, received it most gladly at their hands. And then, after that he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had, above all others, to rejoice that his coming from *Rome* into *England* had taken such a happy turn; he caused his commission to be read, by which it might appear, that he had authority from the Pope to absolve them. The commission was very long and large; which being ended, and all the Parliament, both Lords and Commons, on their knees, the Cardinal, by the Pope's authority, gave them absolution as follows.

'Our Lord *Jesus Christ* with his most precious blood has redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase to himself a glorious Spouse without spot or wrinkle; and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his Church, he by his mercy absolve you: And we, by the Apostolic Authority given to us by the most holy Lord Pope *Julius* the Third, his Vicegerent on earth, do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and the dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censures and pains, for that cause incurred. And also we do restore you again to the Unity of the Holy Church, as in our Letters of Commission more plainly shall appear: In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen*.'

"After this general absolution was so given and received, the King, Queen, and all the Lords, with the rest, went into the King's Chapel, and there sung *Te Deum* with great joy and gladness, for this new reconciliation."

And thus was the old Religion of *England* solemnly restored and admitted, once more, to take possession of all the privileges and immunities it had enjoyed, before King *Henry* VIII. took it into his head to disturb the happy repose of this nation with an unfortunate passion for a *new wife* and a *new title.*

We must not forget to take notice, that in Queen *Mary*'s first Parliament, "† All consecrations were declared void and null, which had been made according to the ordinal of K. *Edward* VI.—‡ So that, for want of Canonical Ordination on the one side, and under colour of Uncanonical Marriages on the other, we find a general remove amongst [K. *Edward*'s] Bishops and Clergy." Of which a more explicit account shall be given in the ensuing section.

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§ 10.—*Queen* Mary *displaces the* Edwardian *Intruders, and restores the Catholic Bishops to their respective Sees..... A short Character of King* Edward's *Bishops. .... The* Dissolution-Act *of the Bishoprick of* Durham *is repealed. ....The* Preamble *to that Act.*

THE following Catholic Bishops, viz. *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Tonstal*, *Heath*, and *Day*, had been committed, and detained prisoners during the greatest part of King *Edward*'s reign; but, upon his death, a change of the times happened in their favour; for they were happily enlarged, and summoned to Parliament 1 *Marr.* where also *Samson* of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, *Salcot* (alias *Capon*) of *Salisbury*, *King* of *Oxford*, *Chambers* of *Peterborough*, *Thirlby* of *Norwich*, *Buckley* of *Bangor*, *Parfew* (alias *Warbington*) of St. *Asaph*, and *Kitchin* of *Landaff*, who had all temporized pretty much; but being now reconciled to the Old Religion, were admitted to take their seats. Some other Catholic Divines were also, about this time, ordained Bishops, to fill up such Sees as were become vacant by the removal of several of the *Edwardian* intruders and other time-serving Prelates, whose names, as also the names of those by whom they were replaced, are here subjoined.

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 38. ‡ *Idem*, p. 28.

Cranmer of *Canterbury*. — Queen *Mary* deprived him of his Archiepiscopal Dignity, and sent him to the Tower. He was succeeded in the See of *Canterbury* by Cardinal *Pole*. —A new *Marian* Prelate, and the last Catholic Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Holeyate of *York*.—By his scandalous misbehaviour he sullied the lustre of that mitre he had the honour to wear. In the reign of K. *Edward* VI. he was, for the space of about eighteen months, imprisoned in the Tower *for heinous offences*, which, purely out of a regard to his character, we forbear to mention. And being deprived in Queen *Mary*'s reign, he was succeeded by *Heath*. Translated from *Worcester*.

Ridley of *London*.—After the death of K. *Edward*, he listed in the service of the Lady *Jane Gray*, and preached a seditious sermon against Queen *Mary*'s better title and pretensions to the crown. For which, and some other treasonable practices, he was deprived and committed to the Tower. He was succeeded by *Bonner*.—Restored.

Goodrick of *Ely*.—He ran great lengths in the reign of King *Edward* VI. by whom he was constituted Lord Chancellor of *England*, but was outed by Queen *Mary*, and deprived of the *Great Seal*, which was given to *Gardiner*. *Goodrick* dying soon after, was succeeded by *Thirlby*. Translated from *Norwich*.

Bush of *Bristol*.—Deprived on the account of his marriage. Succeeded by *Holyman*. A new *Marian* Prelate.

Bird of *Chester*.—Deprived for being married. Succeeded by *Coates*. A new *Marian* Prelate.

Barlow of *Bath* and *Wells*.—Deprived for his uncanonical marriage, &c. After his ejectment, he made a shift to get over into *Germany*, where he lived, says Mr. *Fuller*, *in great poverty and want*. He was succeeded by *Bourn*. A new *Marian* Prelate.

Scory of *Chichester*.—He went a full length in his compliance with the times, put away his wife, did penance, and received absolution from Bp. *Bonner*; but, retiring into *Germany*, he returned to his vomit. He was succeeded by *Day*. Restored.

Coverdale of *Exeter*.—Upon his deprivation he retired into *Germany*, where he joined with the *Puritans* in their opposition to King *Edward*'s Common-

Prayer-Book. He was succeeded by *Vesey*. Restored.

Taylor of *Lincoln.*—Deprived, "Ob nullitatem consecrationis ejus," says the record, "et defectum tituli sui quem habuit a Rege *Edwardo* Sexto cum hac clausula, *Quam diu bene se gesserit.*"—Succeeded by *White*. A new *Marian* Prelate.

Harley of *Hereford.*—Deprived for marriage and heresy, and the other reasons alledged against *Taylor*. Succeeded by *Parfew*. Translated from St. *Asaph*.

Hooper of *Gloucester.*—Deprived for default of title, nullity of ordinations, marriage, and other instances of misdemeanor. Succeeded by *Brooks*. A new *Marian* Prelate.

Farrer of St. *David*'s.—Deprived *propter causas supradictus*, i. e. for the same reasons for which *Hooper* was displaced. *Farrer* was succeeded by *Morgan*. A new *Marian* Prelate.

Poynet of *Winchester.*—He was deeply engaged in *Wyatt*'s insurrection, and actually appeared in the field against Queen *Mary*. But after she had happily broke the neck of that rebellion, *Poynet* was obliged to fly into *Germany*, to save his own. He was succeeded by *Gardiner*. Restored.

As for the *Edwardian*, and other time-serving Prelates, we think we should be guilty of committing an outrage upon truth, in case we should attempt to place their *character* in an amiable light. They seem to have been advanced to Bishopricks, not for the *good* but the *goods* of the Church; which nevertheless they shamefully squandered away. To give some instances. "† D. *Barlow* being made Bp. of *Bath* and *Wells*, gratified the Lord Protector with a present of *eighteen* or *nineteen* manors, which anciently belonged to it. And lying all, or the most part of them, in the county of *Somerset*, seemed very conveniently disposed of for the better maintenance of the title of Duke of *Somerset*, which the Protector had taken to himself. Many such strange donationswe shallfind in others."——In a word, the scandalous depredations these Bps. committed are very astonishing; and the more so, because "‡ The lands were not taken by force, but basely surrendered by men who were made Bishops on that condition. *Ridley* particularly gave

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 130.
‡ *Short View*, p. 199. See also *Collier's Collection of Records*, No. LXXII.

to the crown the flower of the demesnes belonging to the See of *London*. An odd kind of *simony!* It is common to give money for Bishopricks, but these men gave their Bishopricks for a share of the money and the title."

And by this opprobrious tenure they held Bishopricks as long as King *Edward* possessed the throne. But in the next reign the case was altered. Then, perceiving their cause to be in a sinking condition, and that there was nothing to be hoped for after *Wyatt*'s rebellion was suppressed, the *Reforming Brethren* suddenly resolved to quit the kingdom and sheer off. And in consequence of this resolution, some of them steered for *Geneva*, others for *Zurich*, *Worms*, *Arrow*, *Basil*, *Embden*, *Antwerp*, *Strasburgh*, *and Frankfort*; where splitting into different sects, "infinite were the confusions which they had amongst themseves," says Dr. Heylin.—See his *Hist. Ref.* p. 59.

And how happy might it not have been for this nation, had these lamentable confusions and fantastical broils been for ever confined to *Germany* and *Swisserland!* For, as the above quoted Historian observes, "They made *foul work* in *England* at their coming home."—[*Hist. Presb.* p. 241.] But for this *great blessing* we may thank Q. *Elizabeth's* mistaken politics and misplaced indulgence.

Conclude we this section with Bp. *Tonstal*'s restoration to his See of *Durham*, and the See itself to its pristine state and honours.

All the other Catholic Bishops were easily restored, only by displacing the *Edwardian* interlopers, with some others, whose scandalous lives called aloud for the censure of deprivation. But Bishop *Tonstal* (whose Bishoprick had been *utterly extinguished and dissolved* by parliamentary authority, as is before observed) could not be replaced without an Act of Parliament. A Bill therefore was brought into this Parliament [1 *Mar.*] for that purpose. "†The Pre-Preamble to this Bill is very remarkable, and sets forth:

'That certain ambitious persons, taking advantage of the late King's minority, made an interest, by sinister practice, to procure the dissolution of the Bishoprick; that it was done out of mercenary views, to enrich themselves and their friends, by seizing the lands of that See, rather than upon just occasion or godly zeal. That *Tonstal*, Bishop of *Durham*, was deprived upon untrue surmises and false accusations, and that the process against him was foul and illegal. That upon a full examination of the matter by the Queen's commissioners, the sentence of deprivation was declared

† *Parliamentary Hist. of England*, Vol. III. p. 307, 308.

void, as may be seen at large by an authentic instrument. That the Queen had new founded the Bishoprick by her letters patents, and restored all the lands in her possession. But that neither the reversal of the sentence of deprivation, nor the Queen's letters patents, were of sufficient force to recover the honours, lands, &c. to the See of *Durham*. Therefore to restore the Bishoprick to its former interest, privileges, and revenues, the two Dissolution Statutes of the last reign were hereby repealed.'—See the *Act of Repeal* in the *Appendix*, No. IV.

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§ 11.—*Animadversions on the suppositious* Martyrs *of this Reign..... They suffered not on Account of Religion* only. .... *Witness their treasonable* Prayers *and seditious* Books.

BEFORE we come directly to the point in question, we beg leave to propose Mr. *Collier*'s judicious observation upon martyrdom in general.

"† 'Tis the cause, and not the pain, that makes the martyr. That throwing up life without warrantable reason, is no instance of true fortitude. To dye against truth and orthodoxy, has more of desperation than greatness in it.—It is not *death* then, but the *cause* for which a man dies, that must entitle him to a crown of martyrdom. Nor is it at all material, whether a person expires by the *ax*, the *halter*, or a *faggot*: for unless he suffers death for the cause of virtue, in defence of the true religion, and in quality of a member of the true Church of *Christ*, he stands but a poor chance to have his name enrolled in the list of the Martyrs of *Christ*."

But did not the *Foxian* Martyrs of this reign suffer for religion? That they suffered for religion *only*, or that religion was their *only* crime, is something more than we are, or ever shall be, disposed to grant. Their own seditious behaviour bears witness against them: so does the *History*, as well as the authority of a *Parliament* of those times. And from both the one and the other, their guilt is clearly proved to have been a complication of Heresy, Treason, and Sedition! Treason was the common topic upon

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. Book v. p. 385.

which the *holy zealots* held forth, and entertained their hearers, both in their public assemblies and private conferences: and their treasonable and seditious prayings and preachments against the Queen were carried to such a prodigious height, that it was thought necessary to silence and suppress them by the authority of Parliament; a Petition being first presented to the throne, for an Act to be expressly made for that very purpose.——[*Vid. Stat.* 1 and 2 *Phil.* and *Mar.* where it is declared High Treason to pray (as they prayed) *that God would shorten the Queen's days, &c.*]

"† It must be confessed," says Mr. *Collier*, "eagerness of temper and injudicious aversion carried some of the *Reformed* to practices by no means defensible. For instance, they prayed, *That God would turn Queen* Mary's *heart from idolatry, or else shorten her days.* Thus much is confessed by *Fox*, tho' he forgets [he wilfully forgets, we suppose,] to censure the disloyalty.—However, 'tis certain the report of this intemperate zeal occasioned an Act of Parliament, by which it was made high treason *For any person to pray that God would shorten the Queen's days, or take her out of the way, or make any such malicious prayer, importing the same sense.* The Preamble cites the Petition above mentioned as unquestionable matter of fact; and then subjoins, *That such a prayer was never heard or read to have been used by any good Christians against any Prince, tho' he were a Pagan or an Infidel, and much less against any Christian Prince.* The Statute concludes with a proviso, that if any persons, indicted for any thing of this kind, done during the present session, shall show themselves penitent, and submit to the Queen's mercy, that then no judgment or attainder of treason shall pass upon them, but they shall receive such corporal punishment, on this side death, as the Court shall appoint.—And such was the behaviour of the *Puritans* at home."

As for the *English* Refugees abroad, they soon learned whatever might be thought necessary to form and embellish the character of *Professors of Disloyalty*; especially such of them as had retired to *Geneva*, and were educated at the feet of *Calvin* or *Knox*. *Calvin* was a leveller by principle, and *Knox* a professed enemy to monarchical government. *Calvin*'s school at *Geneva* was a nursery of *rebellion*, and *Knox* a noted *incendiary*‡. "*Calvin* calls *Mary*, Queen of

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. v. p. 375. See also *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* Vol. II. B. ii. p. 297.

‡ *Heylin's Hist. Presb.* p. 25.

England, by the name of *Proserpine*; assuring us, that all the devils in hell were not half so mischievous. And *Knox* could not find for her any better titles than *Jezabel, Mischievous Mary of the Spanish Blood, The professed Enemy of God.*"——Under such great masters, no wonder if the *English* Puritans should become adepts in the noble arts of reviling and praying backwards for their lawful Sovereign.

And truly their *pious prayers* were hardly to be matched by any thing in the world but their *edifying books*, of which Mr. *Collier* presents us with the following taste. " † That some of the *reformed* were well wishers to *Wyat*'s revolt, is past all doubt. For the purpose, there was a book published at *Geneva* about this time by *Christopher Goodman*.—'Tis stuffed with a great deal of scandalous invective against the Queen, and her subjects are incited to rebellion. He makes no scruple to embalm *Wyat*'s memory, and flourishes upon the insurrection in these words: '*Wyat*,' says he, 'did but his duty; and it was but the duty of all others that professed the gospel, to have risen with him for the maintenance of the same. His cause was just, and they were all traitors who took not part with him. O noble *Wyat!* thou art now with God and those worthy men that died in that happy enterprise!' To give another instance: There was a book printed towards the latter end of this reign, but neither the precise year nor place are mentioned. This book was put into my hands for *Poynet*'s.—As to the performance, 'tis a most pestilent discourse. He runs a great length of satire against the government; makes Popery as bad as heathenism, and glances not unintelligibly upon the Queen. He presses the expedient of deposing princes. And, which is more, he wrests the scripture to justify his doctrine, recommends assassination from several places in the Old Testament, and misapplies the instances in a horrible manner! Besides the scandal of the matter, he is frequently gross in his railings, and sometimes indecent in his levities." ——To suppress these, and many other such like scandalous invectives against the government, it was thought proper to publish the following

Proclamation. [*An. 5 Mar.*]

'Whereas divers books, filled with Heresy, Sedition, and Treason, have of late been daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries, and also some covertly

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. v. p. 363.

printed within this realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is dishonoured, but likewise encouragement is given to disobey lawful princes and governors. Therefore for redress hereof we command the suppressing of all such books.'

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§ 12.—*A Specimen of the Spirit of Mr.* Strype*'s imprisoned* Saints.

To make a true estimate of the spirit of Mr. *Strype*'s *Holy Men*, we must take a view of them in their state of confinement, where, it seems, their *unseemly* heats and animosities against one another, upon the score of religion, were carried to such a scandalous height, that, in order to prevent their going together by the ears, the jailers were obliged to commit each of them to a separate apartment. For whenever they chanced to meet, their prodigiously high-mettled zeal rendered them extremely prone, in all their religious rencounters,

> *" To prove their doctrines orthodox,*
> *By apostolick blows and knocks."*

But to be serious.—Mr. *Strype* divides his ungovernable disputants into two classes, viz. *Free-willers* (as he is pleased to call them) and *Arians*. The first (who, by his description of them, appear to be professed *Pelagians*) he characters *men of holy lives;* and the latter, though they denied the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, are nevertheless represented by this wrong-headed author under the absurd notion of *men imprisoned for the gospel.* Imprisoned for the gospel! For what gospel? Is it gospel, to deny the Divinity of *Jesus Christ?* Is it *gospel*, or rather is it not *blasphemy*, to deny St. *Peter*'s celebrated confession, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God?*——But let us hear our accomplished *Memorialist.*

"† One thing there now fell out," says he, "which caused some disturbance among the prisoners. Many of them, that were under restraint for the profession of the gospel, were such as held free-will, tending to the derogation of God's grace, and refused the doctrine of absolute Predestination and Original Sin. They were men of strict

† *Strype's Memorials of the Life of A. B. Cranmer*, p. 350.

and holy lives. They ran their notions as high as *Pelagius* did, and valued no learning; and the writings and authorities of the learned they utterly rejected and despised.

"Besides these *Antipredestinarians*, there were some few who, laid in prison for the gospel, were *Arians*, and disbelieved the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*.—These different opinions occasioned such unseemly, quarrelsome disputes and heats among themselves, that the Marshal [of the King's Bench Prison] was fain to separate them one from another. And in 1556, the noise of this reached to the Council, who, the better to know the matter controverted between them, sent D. *Martin* to the King's Bench to examine it. These were some of the transactions that passed among the prisoners."

Edifying *Transactions*, it must be confessed, and noble examples of the *mild* and *gentle* spirit of Mr. *Strype*'s *Men of holy lives!* though perhaps a wiser man than this memorial-writer would have industriously concealed the intemperate sallies of these *bigotted enthusiasts*, out of a regard for the Reformation; to which, it is our opinion, they were no great credit.

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§ 13.—*The deplorable Catastrophe of* Repingdon *Abbey Church.... How and by whom the Abbey Lands were secured to their respective Grantees or Purchasers.*

Upon the demise of King *Edward* VI. the crown of *England*, as it is very well known, devolved to his sister *Mary*, a zealous Catholic. Being settled in the throne, she resolved to make restitution of all such monastic houses, church lands, &c. as were at that time possessed by the crown. She restored to Bishop *Tonstal* all the lands belonging to the See of *Durham* that were in her possession. She procured the restoration of the *Benedictin* Monks to their ancient Abbey of *Westminster*. She provided a new convent for the *Dominicans* in *Smithfield*. She replaced the *Franciscans* at their house in *Greenwich*, the *Bridgetin* Nuns at *Syon*, the *Carthusians* at *Sheen*, &c. The news of these transactions coming in post-haste down from *London*, made the purchasers of abbey-lands look about them. And particularly "† One *Thacker* being possessed of *Repingdon* Abbey, in *Darbyshire*, alarmed with the news, that the

† *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book vi. p. 358.

Queen had set up the Abbies again, and fearing how large a reach such a precedent might have, upon a Sunday (belike the better day the better deed) called together all the masons and carpenters of that county, and pluckt down in one day a most beautiful church belonging thereunto, adding, *He would destroy the nest, for fear the birds should build there again.*"

But Mr. *Thacker* might have spared himself the unnecessary trouble and expence of his memorable Sunday's work. The birds were effectually prevented from building there again by the Pope and the Parliament. For the first dispensed with the laity's holding church lands, and the latter confirmed the dispensation, as our records testify, and our historians assure us.

" † On the 20th of *December*, a Bill was brought into the House of Lords, and on the 26th it was read a third time, and passed that house. It was entitled, *A Bill for repealing all statutes, articles, and provisoes made against the See Apostolique of Rome since the 20th year of King* Henry *the Eighth; and for the establishment of all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Possessions and Hereditaments conveyed to the Laity.* The Commons took less time to consider of this Bill, tho' some alteration was made by them in it.—The purport of this Act was, to declare their former schism from the See of *Rome*, and their reconciliation to it now; and upon which all Acts passed since the 20th of King *Henry the Eighth* against that See, were particularly enumerated and repealed. And in order to remove all grudges that might afterwards arise, the Parliament desired the Lord Cardinal to intercede with the Pope, that the following articles might by his authority be established. [They are five in all, but we shall only quote the *first*, *third*, and *fifth*, the other two not being for our purpose.] I. 'That all Bishops, Cathedrals, or Colleges now settled, might be confirmed for ever. III. That all Institutions to Benefices might be confirmed. V. That all Settlements of the Lands belonging to any Bishopricks, Monasteries, or other Religious Houses, might continue as they were, without any trouble by ecclesiastical censures or laws.' It was also declared, that all suits about these lands were only to be in the Queen's Courts, and not in the ecclesiastical; and if any should, upon the pretence of any Church Authority, disturb the subjects in their possessions, they were to incur a *Præmunire.*——Upon the whole," continues my Author, " it shows

† *Parliam. Hist. of Eng.* Vol. III. p. 325, 326, 327, 328.

plainly, that the Church and Abbey Lands were not then redeemable by a Popish Prince, even so near their first alienation: and further, that these lands were the real bait which drew on the reformation. For it is plain, by the conduct of both Lords and Commons in this Parliament, that let them have but possession of these lands, and they cared not a straw what religion was uppermost. Since now the pillars of the reformation, which had been above thirty years in erecting, were, by this Queen and her Parliament, thrown down in two.—To this we shall only add, that the *Lords*, the *Commons*, the *Grantees*, or *Purchasers* of abbey-lands, &c. were far from being disposed to imitate Queen *Mary*'s example; far from giving up an inch of their *Robin-Hood's-Pennyworths*. For as Dr. *Heylin* observes:

"* The Queen had neither eloquence to persuade, nor power enough to awe the Parliament to this concession. But nothing hindered the design more than a general fear, that if the Popes were once restored to their former power, the Church might challenge restitution of her former possessions. Do but secure them from that fear, then Pope and Cardinals might come and welcome." —And he further observes: "They had a sufficient security for their panicks, by a promise under-hand, both from the King, Queen, and Cardinal Legate, who knew right-well, that the Church-Lands had been so chopped and changed by the two last kings, as not to be restored without the manifest ruin of many of the nobility, and most of the gentry, who were invested in the same." Add to this, what a cotemporary historian [*Grafton*] advances, viz. that

"The Pope's most liberal Bull for a Dispensation of Abbey-lands being now confirmed by Parliament, it gave great comfort to many, who were not without suspicions that this new union might cause them to lose some of their late cheap purchases."

And thus, in fine, by virtue of a *liberal diploma, sub annulo piscatoris*, confirmed by an Act of Parliament, the nobility and gentry were entirely freed from all future apprehensions relative to their ecclesiastical purchases, and had the peaceable possession of abbey-lands, &c. secured to themselves and their heirs for ever.

* *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* (Q. M.) p. 41.

§ 14.—Elizabeth, *in her first Parliament, reclaims the* Supremacy, *but changes the Title of* Supreme Head *into that of* Supreme Governor *of the Church.....A political* Finesse, *but no Abatement of her Father's* Supreme Power Ecclesiastical.....*Her* Supremacy *is opposed by the Catholic Prelates and Party.....She publishes her* Admonition.....*Reflections upon it and the Change of the* Supremacy-Title. ...*Mr.* Tilney's *Case, &c.*

ALTHO' the Reformation met with nothing but interruption, discouragement, and disfavour, as long as a Catholic Princess enjoyed the crown, yet neither was the *New Gospel* so entirely outed, nor the *Old Religion* so thoroughly re-established, during the short period of Queen *Mary*'s reign, but that her sister *Elizabeth*, when exalted to the throne, might (and actually did) find out ways and means to unravel every project, and to frustrate every design that had, of late years, been formed in favour of the Catholic interest.

At first, indeed, Q. *Elizabeth* seemed to be somewhat embarrassed, and unresolved how to proceed, or which way to steer. But, after some fluctuations, she determined, at last, to effect another revolution in the Church.

Yet this enterprise, she soon perceived, could not easily be accomplished, unless her powers and prerogatives were advanced to the height of her father's in every particular. Wherefore, in her first Parliament, she revived her father's claim to the *Spiritual Supremacy* over this national Church. The first of her sex that ever aspired to so great an honour!

"* It seem'd," says D. *Heylin*, "a thing abhorrent even in nature and policy, that a woman should be declared Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of *England*. It was even † *A jest to the rest of the world!* But *Elizabeth*, it seems, was determined to make a serious affair of it. Power is a tempting bait to the ambitious! and therefore we need not wonder if the most ambitious of her sex should sit upon thorns till such time as she was put into possession of that *very fine thing* called the *Supremacy:*" which, to make use of D. *Heylin*'s expression, she considered as the fairest jewel in the regal diadem.

Charmed with the brilliancy of so incomparable a gem, it was not long before she resolved (cost what it would) to

* *Heylin's Hist, Ref.* p. 107. † *Short View*, p. 207.

win it, and *wear* it too. And with this resolution she summoned the Lords and Commons to meet at *Westminster*. At which place being assembled,

"† *March* 22, 1559, a bill was brought into Parliament, (which soon passed into a law) *for restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same.* By this act, such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised and used, for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for the reformation, order, and correction of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, shall for ever, by the authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm.

"Then follows the clause for impowering the Queen to erect the High Commission-Court [of which more hereafter] for the exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. And by this branch, the Queen and her successors are enabled to assign, by Letters Patents under the Great Seal, such persons, and for so long a time as they shall think fit, (provided they are natural born subjects) for the exercising under the Crown all manner of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. Particularly by this Act the Commissioners are empowered to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities whatsoever, as by any manner of Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction, can or may be lawfully reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained or amended, &c.

"Nothing can be more comprehensive than the terms of this clause. The whole compass of Church Discipline seems transferred upon the Crown.

"And thus, by the Queen's Letters Patents, passed in the 18th year of her reign, her Ecclesiastical Commissioners are authorized to visit, reform, correct, as well in places exempt as not exempt, all errors, heresies, schisms, &c. by censures ecclesiastical, deprivation, or otherwise.

"And here it may be observed, that to make the Act more inoffensive, the title of *Supreme Head* was changed into that of *Supreme Governor*."

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. Book vi. pp. 420, 421.

But it was all one to the Parliament whether the Queen was pleased to style herself *Head* or *Governor* of the Church. " † They were not over nice about words, so they might gain the point they aimed at, which was the stripping the Pope of all Authority within these dominions, and fixing the *supreme Ecclesiastical Power* in the Crown Imperial."

Yet besides this, (which was indeed the main article) there was another point in view, another wile in reserve: and that was, to trepan the unguarded Catholics into a recognition of the Queen's Supremacy, under the cover of a title *seemingly* different from that of her father's, when, at the same time, her power, in all spiritual matters, was *really* the same, if not more extensive, as Mr. *Fuller* observes.

" ‡ It was farther enacted," says he, " that all Ecclesiastical Persons and Magistrates who received pensions from the Exchequer; such as should take any degree in the Universities, &c. and such as were to be admitted into the Queen's service, &c. should be tied by an *oath* to acknowledge the Queen's Majesty to be *the only and supreme Governor of her kingdoms* (the style of Supreme Head of the Church of *England* liked them not) *in all matters and causes, as well spiritual as temporal* — But the Papists complained, that the simplicity of poor people was abused, the Queen declining the title of *Head*, and assuming the name of *Governor* of the Church, which though *less* offensive, was *more* expressive. So that, while their ears were favoured in her waving the *word*, their souls were deceived with the same *sense*, under another *expression*."

This the Catholic Prelates plainly perceived, and therefore opposed the *Supremacy Bill* with all their might.

" § This Bill having been canvassed near a month since it was first sent up by the Commons, must argue strong debates and great Opposition to it in the House of Lords. *Cambden* tells us, that it was vigorously opposed by *nine Bishops* besides the Abbot of *Westminster*." Their names are as follow:

Heath, Archbp. of *York*;
Bonnor, Bp. of *London*;
White, Bp. of *Winchester*;
Kitchin, Bp. of *Llandaff*;

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* (Q. E.) p. 107.
‡ *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book ix. pp. 52, 53.
§ *Parliamentary Hist. of Eng.* Vol. III. pp. 378, 379.

Bain, Bp. of *Coventry*;
Pate, Bp. of *Worcester*;
Turberville, Bp. of *Exeter*;
Scott, Bp. of *Chester*;
Oglethorpe, Bp. of *Carlisle*; and
Feckenham, Abbot of *Westminster*.

D. *Heylin* further observes, that in Q. *Elizabeth*'s first Parliament '† Two speeches were made against the Book [of Common Prayer] in the House of Peers, by *Scott* and *Feckenham*, and one against the Queen's Supremacy, by the Archbishop of *York*. But they prevailed little by the power of their eloquence." —— See these speeches in the *Appendix* No. V.

However, the opposition raised against the Queen's Supremacy at this juncture, by the abovementioned Prelates and others of the Catholic Party, *prevailed so far*, as to oblige the Queen to publish her *Admonition*. It is an *admirable* piece, and sets forth,

' That the Queen's Majesty being informed that some of her subjects found some *scruple* in the form of this Oath [of Supremacy] would that all her loving subjects should understand that nothing was, is, or shall be meant or intended by the same Oath, to have any other duty or allegiance required by that Oath than was acknowledged to be due to King *Henry* VIII. her Majesty's father, and King *Edward* VI. her Majesty's brother. And further, her Majesty forbiddeth her subjects to give credit to such persons who notify to her subjects, how by the words of the said Oath, it may be collected that the Kings or Queens of this realm *may challenge authority of administering the divine offices in the Church*; wherein her subjects be very much abused. For her Majesty neither doth, nor ever will challenge, any other authority than that which was challenged and lately used by King *Henry* and King *Edward*; which is, and was of ancient time, due to the Imperial Crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these realms, whether ecclesiastical or temporal; so as no other sovereign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them.' Thus the *Royal Monitory*. — Upon which we shall only observe, that if the design of its being made public was to cure *scruples*, it may very well be questioned if ever it produced that salutary effect. For, in

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 108.

fact, it lays no restraint on the *Queen*'s *Supremacy*, but, on the contrary, leaves it, in every respect, equal to that of King *Henry* VIII. and King *Edward* VI.

Reflections upon the Premises.

Now if what Mr. *Collier* advances upon this subject be true, that in Q. *Elizabeth*'s first Parliament, *the whole compass of Church Government was transferred upon the Crown:* if King *Henry* VIII. (as it is the opinion of a modern historian) *challenged a power equal to Christ's:* and if *Elizabeth* claimed an authority in *spiritual matters* every jot as large and extensive as that *which had been acknowledged due to King* Henry VIII. *her Majesty's father*, a man, without pretending to be a conjuror, may easily guess at the *dimensions of* Q. *Elizabeth*'s *spiritual power*. We grant indeed, that her quirking, quibbling, equivocating *admonition* may be admired, as a notable *coup de politique*; but we are too well acquainted with her temper, to imagine it was ever *meant* or *intended* to be a curb to her *supremacy*. She would never suffer any such thing to be attempted. She never would suffer either her Privy Council or Parliaments to tarnish the lustre of the brightest jewel in her crown, by any restrictive or derogatory clause whatsoever.

As to the change of the style of *Supreme Head* into that of *Supreme Governor* of the Church, what was it but a *distinction* without a *difference?* For if the *same* power be *as fully and largely* implied in *Elizabeth*'s title of *Supreme Governor*, as was confessed to be due to her father's title of *Supreme Head*, where is the difference in point of *authority*, though the *names* differ? All that can be advanced in favour or defence of Q. *Elizabeth*'s *new style* amounts to nothing more than this, that, perhaps, it might be less liable to exception, as D. *Heylin* has observed. "† The reformed party," says he, "fixed the Supreme Ecclesiastical Power in the Crown Imperial, not by the name of Supreme Head (which they perceived might be liable to some exceptions) but (which comes all to one) of Supreme Governor."——And if it comes all to one, then I think there 's an end of the dispute. For when the thing itself is granted, what does it signify to wrangle about *synonymous terms?* What's this but a frivolous and insipid logomachy? and just as much to the purpose as to dispute *De lana caprina?*

But that Q. *Elizabeth*'s Supreme Power Ecclesiastical

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* (Q. E.) p. 107.

was equal at least, if not superior to her father's, is clearly proved from the following quotation.—"In the same statute of Queen *Elizabeth*, [viz. 1 E. c. 1.] it is added, 'That the branches, sentences, and words of the several acts made in King *Henry the Eighth*'s time, and every one of them, shall be deemed and taken to extend to your Highness, your heirs and successors, as fully and largely as ever the said acts did extend to the late King *Henry* VIII. your Majesty's father.' "Whereby it appears," continues my authority, "that though the title of *Head* was left off, yet the Supreme Authority Ecclesiastical was united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of *England* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, *as fully and largely* as ever King *Henry* enjoy'd it; and, in some respects, more advantageously."—Vid. *A Discourse on the Supreme Power Ecclesiastical*, in Mr. *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* V. II. B. II. p. 89.

In fine, Q. *Elizabeth*, by her parasites, and particularly by the famous Secretary *Cecil*, was made believe (and perhaps she was not unwilling to believe) that her *Spiritual Power* was as full and ample as the Pope's. And for a proof of this, we appeal to the case of Mr. *Tilney*, which is thus related by a Church Historian. "* *An. Dom.* 1569. This summer one *Tilney*, a gentleman, moved for a marriage-dispensation. The case was at last brought into the Arches, where the Archbishop, the Lord Keeper, and Secretary *Cecil*, were present. The question was double; whether the case would admit of a dispensation, and if so, who had a right to give it? The Secretary affirmed, the Queen might do it: *For she*, says he, *may do as much as the Pope.*"

Conclude we this subject with the following remark: "† In a Parliament called *anno* 1584, the Queen is affirmed by *Stow* to have made a speech, and therein to have told the Bishops, 'That if they did not look more carefully to the discharge of their duties, she would take care to deprive them.'" Sharp words, says Dr. *Heylin:* but he did not reflect, that nothing could have been uttered, upon the occasion, more suitable or consonant to the style and character of a Pontiff-Queen.

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. vi. p. 519.
† *Heylin's Hist. Presb.* L. VIII. p. 263.

§ 15. *Some Account of the* High Commission Court, *and the* Use *that was made of it in* Q. Elizabeth's *Reign*..... *Mr.* Collier's *Observations upon it.*

Since the *High Commission Court* sets Q. *Elizabeth*'s Spiritual Power and authority in a conspicuous point of light; and since it was looked upon, by the Protestant Dissenters of this reign, as an intolerable grievance, we imagined it might not be disagreeable to our reader, to be entertained with a succinct account of it.

Now the origin of this *High Commission* is derived from King *Henry the Eighth*, who first appointed the whole business of his *Spiritual Supremacy*, and every branch of it, to be executed by his proxy. And who should this proxy be, but the celebrated *Thomas Cromwell!* who (in quality of King's *Vicar-General in Spirituals*) enjoyed the unexampled *deputation*, and exercised it alone and without a rival, till he fell into *disgrace*, which, in a short time afterwards, was followed with the loss of *his head.* And thus fell the Grand Vicar of God's *High Minister*, as King *Henry* vouchsafed upon a solemn occasion to style himself. From which time the important *commission* became vacant, and continued so till this King's death.

In the reign of King *Edward the Sixth*, the *reforming business*, together with the *Church Authority*, fell into the hand of and was managed by the Lord Protector *Somerset*, and the rest of the privy council of that minor king.

In Queen *Mary*'s reign, *reforming* was out of fashion, and so was the *Lay Supremacy*. Whereupon the *High Commission Court*, having no business to transact, was obliged to lie dormant from the beginning to the end of this reign. But

Q. *Elizabeth*, in the 18th year of her reign, issued out formal commissions under the Great Seal of *England*, to empower what persons soever she pleased (even without being obliged to make use of so much as one clergyman) to execute the important business of her *spiritual supremacy.*

King *James* I. after he had got possession of the throne of *England* (for he durst not do it before) attempted to erect a *High Commission Court* in *Scotland.* But vain was the attempt. For it was never like to thrive on that ground where the Scottish Kirk had first been planted. And even in *England*, towards the latter end of his reign, the *House of Commons* began first to call in question, and afterwards

to dispute, the power and authority of the *High Commission Court.*

In the reign of King *Charles the First*, as soon as the Fanatics had got the upper hand, they took up a resolution to remove all *grievances*, and *this* amongst the rest. "†They began with taking down the Star Chamber and the High Commission-Court: and in the Act for taking down the Court of the High Commission, a clause is cunningly inserted, which plainly took away all coercive power which had been vested in the Bishops and their under officers; disabling them from imposing any pain or penalty, and consequently from inflicting all [or any] church censures on notorious sinners. Their jurisdiction being thus gone, it was thought convenient to strip them from having any place or suffrage in the House of Peers." And thus fell this famous court, and the Bishops along with it. — And now, having pursued the *High-Commission-Court* from its first institution to the end of its progress, we return to Q. *Elizabeth.*

The Nonconformists of her reign were very loud and very bitter in their complaints of the *cruel use* (as they called it) that was made of this Supreme Spiritual Court by Q. *Elizabeth*, her Bishops, and their under officers. It fell like a thunder-bolt upon *Cartwright*, *Snape*, *Udal*, *Travers*, *Penry*, *Barrow*, *Arthington*; and, in short, upon all the leading members of the *Puritan* Faction. It assumed the authority, not only to *reform*, *redress*, *order*, *correct*, and *amend* heretics, but likewise to condemn them to the *flames*. In fine, to dissenting Protestants of all denominations, it was extremely formidable, and as odious as the most rigid Spanish Inquisition.—But it is now time to give our reader a taste of the nature of it; with which, and Mr. *Collier's* observations thereupon, we shall conclude this section.

Bp. *Burnet*, in his *Collection of Records*, No. VII. has preserved a copy of one of these *High-Commissions*. It is for the Archbishopric and Province of *York*, and is directed to the following persons, viz. *Francis* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Edward* Earl of *Darby*, *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, *William* Lord *Evers*, Sir *Henry Piercy*, Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, Sir *James Crofts*, and Sir *Henry Gates*, Knights. To these were joined *Edwin Sandys*, D. D. *Henry Hervey*, L. D. *Richard Bowes*, *George Brown*, *Richard Kingsmale*, and *Christopher Escot*, Esquires.—Upon whom, and the extent of their commission, Mr. *Collier* observes, that,

† *Heylin's Hist. Presb.* L. XIII. p. 439.

"†Among these fourteen commissioners there is never a clergyman excepting *Sandys*, unless *Hervey*, Doctor in Law, was authorized in orders; which is somewhat unlikely Notwithstanding this, any two of them are to visit all cathedrals, collegiate and parochial churches, and all degrees of the clergy, the bishops not excepted. They were empowered to examine them upon the articles of their belief, the qualifications of their learning, and their behaviour as to morals: and in case they find them defective, heterodox, or irregular, they are to proceed against them by imprisonment and *ecclesiastical censures*. Farther, their commission empowers them to deliver new injunctions, to declare spiritual promotions void, to allow competent pensions to those who quit their livings; to examine letters of *orders*, to give institution and induction, to convene synods, and receive *synodals*, and to *excommunicate* those who refuse to pay. To give licences to preach to those they judged qualified. To try the causes of deprivation, and restore such as have been illegally displaced. In short, their commission takes in the whole compass of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and reaches to every part of the Episcopal Function, excepting Ordination, Consecrating of Churches, and Officiating in Divine Service. And what is still more singular, *Sandys* the clergyman is not constituted one of the *Quorum*, but any two of the lay-commissioners are authorised to transact all this *extraordinary* business, and to exert the highest censures of the Church. This, as one of our historians [*Burnet*] observes, *seemed a great stretch of the Queen's Supremacy* But the author appears inclined to justify the commission. For he subjoins, '‡'Twas thought that the Queen might do that, as well as the late Chancellors did it in the Ecclesiastical Courts; so that one abuse was the excuse for another.' But 'tis to be fear'd this plea won't hold; for the imitation of an ill precedent is no sufficient defence. Besides, lay-chancellors, tho' they sometimes judge what crimes deserve excommunication, yet they never pronounce the sentence. But these commissioners are not tied to the rules of Ecclesiastical Courts: their jurisdiction was unconfined and paramount: and therefore, as far as it appears, they might have pronounced the *sentence of excommunication*, without exceeding the bounds of their deputation. And lastly, the Chancellors act in the Bishop's name, and by virtue of his commission. But these fourteen commissioners managed purely upon the strength of the

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. Book vi. p. 435.
‡ *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* Vol. II. p. 401.

regale. They had no authority but what they received from the Queen, who was, without question, a lay-person, and by consequence, could make out no *claim* to any share of the *sacerdotal character*, nor produce any *warrant* from our Saviour for the exercise of the *keys*."

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§ 16. *The lamentable Consequences of* Q. Elizabeth's *Supremacy.....Some Instances of her burning* Heretics, *and other* Executions *of Protestant Dissenters, are recounted.*

It is reported of Q. *Elizabeth*, (and perhaps not without some foundation in truth) that "†The cruelty of her father was a little too predominant in her nature."——How just this observation is, will be made appear from the following recital of some instances of the inclement use she made of her *Spiritual Supremacy.* Fire and faggot were employed under this Queen, and much to the same purposes as in the preceding reigns of her father and sister: and *Elizabeth* seems to have been as zealously intent upon the lamentable business of *burning heretics*, &c. as either of them. To place this truth in a proper light, we shall be obliged to give some account of such Protestant Dissenters *only* as were executed, [some, says Mr. *Collier*, for *denying the Queen's Supremacy*, and others for *defaming the Common Prayer-Book*,] from the year 1575 to 1593; and whose executions are particularly described by *D. Heylin*, in his *History of the Presbyterians.* He begins his narrative with

Two *Dutch* Anabaptists.

"They were burnt in *Smithfield*," says he, "on the second of July, 1575, (*An. Reg. Eliz.* 18.) where they died with very great horror, expressed by many roarings and cryings, but without any sign or show of true repentance." —[*Heylin's Hist. Presb.* L. vii. p. 280.] The same historian adds, that *John Fox* (the famous Pseudomartyrologist) addressed himself by letters to the Queen, *supplicating for the lives of those wretched men*; but to no purpose. Nothing could induce them to a *retractation of their damnable heresies*, says the Doctor. "So the forfeiture of their lives was taken, and the sentence executed." *Fox*, however,

† *Short View*, p. 210.

had the comfort of a fine opportunity offered him, to add two Martyrs more to his *Acts and Monuments.*——The next Dissenting Protestant Martyr mentioned by our Author, is

Matthew Hammond,

"A poor plow-wright at *Featherset*, within three miles of *Norwich.*—He was condemned for an heretick in the Bishop's Consistory on the fourteenth of April, and thereupon being delivered to the sheriff of the city, he was burnt in the Castle ditch on the twentieth of May, 1579. As a preparative to which punishment, his ears had been cut off on the thirteenth of that month, for base and slanderous words against the Queen and Council." — [*Hist. Presb.* L. vii. p. 280, 281.] To this poor plow-wright, other historians add *Francis Ket*, burnt also at *Norwich* for heresy; and *John Lewis*, burnt at the same place, and for the same crime.—See Mr. *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. vi. p. 581, 582; and Mr. *Fuller's Church Hist.* B. ix. p. 169.

Elias Thacker and *John Copping*, (two *Brownists.*)

"The first was hanged at *Bury* (St. *Edmund*'s) on the fourth of June, and the latter on the sixth of the same month. Their crime was, for spreading certain books, seditiously penned by *Robert Brown*, against the Book of Common Prayer, established by the laws of this realm; as many of their books as could be found being burnt before them."—To this account Mr. *Collier* is pleased to add, that "Many of his [*Brown*'s] followers continued unreclaimed, and suffered death for their mispersuasion."

Now, if so many irreclaimable *Brownists* suffered upon this occasion, perhaps the curious may enquire, 'What 'became of *Brown* himself, the famous author of a new 'sect?'—Be it known then, that this new *gospeller* saved his neck from the halter by a lucky circumstance; and that was, "His being a near kinsman by his mother to the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*," as D. *Heylin* informs us.

But if this short answer should not prove satisfactory to our reader, we shall give him a more explicit account of this noted *man* and his *gospel*, from the Doctor's *History of the Presbyterians.*

"For the better clearing up of which matter, we must fetch the story of this *Brown* a little higher, and carry it a little lower down than this present year (1582.) This *Robert Brown* was born at *Tolethorp*, in the county of *Rutland*, the grand-child of *Francis Brown*, Esq. privileged

in the 18th year of K. *Henry* VIII. to wear his cap in the presence of the King himself, or any other lords, spiritual or temporal, in the land, and not to put it off at any time, but only for his own ease and pleasure. He was bred some time in *Corpus Christi* College (commonly called *Bennet* College) in the University of *Cambridge*, where though he was not known to take any degree, yet he would many times venture into the pulpit. It was observed, that in his preaching he was very vehement. He joined himself to those with whom the *government* of the Church of *England* passed for antichristian; her *sacraments* affirmed to be defiled with superstition; her *liturgy* reproached for popish, and in some parts heathenish; and finally, her *ordinations* to be no better than those of *Baal*'s priests amongst the *Jews*. Not able to abide longer in a church so impure and filthy, he puts himself over into *Zealand*, and joins with *Cartwright*'s new church in the city of *Middleborough*. But finding there some remainders of the old impiety, he resolves to constitute a new church of his own project-ment, which should have nothing in it but what was pure and holy. The draught whereof he comprehended in a book which he printed at *Middleborough*, *an.* 1582, entitled, *A Treatise of Reformation*. And having sent as many of them into *England* as might serve his turn, he followed after in pursuit of his new plantation. The *Dutch* had then a church at *Norwich*. Amongst them he begins; and having gotten some authority amongst the *Dutch*, whose language he had learned when he lived in *Middleborough*, he began to practise upon the *English*.—Of each nation he began to gather churches to himself, of the last especially; inculcating nothing more to his simple auditors, than that the church of *England* had so much of *Rome*, that there was no place left for *Christ*, or his gospel. But more particularly he inveighed against the *government* of the Bishops, the *ordination* of ministers, the offices, rites, and ceremonies of the public Liturgy. Hereupon followed a defection from the church (of *England*) itself; not as before, amongst the Presbyterians, from some offices in it. *Brown*'s followers (which from him took the name of *Brownists*) refusing obstinately to join with any congregation.—This was the first gathering of churches which I find in *England*; and for the justifying whereof, he caused his books to be dispersed in most parts of the realm. [And for the dispersing whereof *Thacker* and *Copping* suffered the law, as we have already taken notice.] But to put an end to our story: *Brown* at last, tho' not till he had passed thro'

two and thirty prisons, as he used to brag, died in *Northampton* Jail."—*Hist. Presb.* L. VII. p. 295, 296, 297.

Thus one Reformation as naturally begets another, as *cold engenders hail*. *Brown* thought himself and his doctrine pure enough to *reform*, *redress*, *correct*, and *amend*, not only the church of *England*, but the very *Puritans* themselves. And as for the *gathering of the churches*, it is a mistake, to suppose that *Brown* was the *first* in that business. He only followed the footsteps of those that had *gathered* before him. At present, however, nothing seems to be more in vogue than the gathering of *new churches*. Go where you will, you are sure to meet with some of these dexterous *gatherers* of *contributions* as well as *proselytes*. And of these *gathering predicants*, it is to be expected we shall never see an end, as long as the *godliness* they preach up is productive of *gain*.

Hacket, *Coppinger*, and *Arthington*.

Coppinger is styled by D. *Heylin*, "A gentleman of a very good family," and *Hacket* "An inconsiderable fellow, both for parts and fortune."——But what his parts had denied him, was abundantly supplied from the spirit of enthusiasm, with which he was heated to a prodigious degree, if all be true that our Historian relates of him: for he tells us, that *Hacket* took it into his head to pass for "The very angel which should come before the day of judgment, with his fan in the one hand, and his shepherd's crook in the other, to distinguish the sheep from the goats, to tread down Satan, and ruin the kingdom of Antichrist.—He ordains *Coppinger* to be his prophet of mercy, and *Arthington* to be his prophet of justice.—Their commission was to proclaim *Hacket* the only supreme monarch of the world, which they did in Cheapside, *London*." Soon after this mad prank, the angel and his pseudo-prophets are seized and imprisoned. "*Hacket* is afterwards arraigned, *July* 26, and two days after drawn to his execution, which was to be done upon him in that part of *Cheapside* in which his two prophets had proclaimed him, and where accordingly he was turned off the ladder, and presently cut down, ript up, and quartered, according to the law in that behalf.—*Coppinger*, by a wilful abstinence, starved himself in prison within a few days after. But *Arthington* lived to see his error, and was pardoned upon his repentance."—*Hist. Presb.* L. IX. p. 307, 308, 309.

Barrow and *Greenwood.*

"It was in the month of November, 1587, that *Henry Barrow*, Gentleman, and *John Greenwood*, Clerk, were publickly convened before the *High Commissioners*, for holding and dispersing many schismatical opinions and seditious doctrines.—On the 21 of March they were indicted, and being found *guilty*, had sentence of death pronounced upon them March 23. They were both hanged at *Tyburn* on the 6th of April."—*Hist. Presb.* L. IX. p. 322, 323, 324, 325.

Penry.

"In May next following *Penry* is brought upon his trial. He was apprehended by the Vicar of *Stepney*, committed prisoner, condemned, and executed not long after, at S. *Thomas* of *Waterings;* but executed with a very thin company attending him, for fear the fellow might have raised some tumult, either in going to the gallows, or upon the ladder. But what he could not do when he was alive, was put into a way of being effected when the hangman had done his office, by publishing one of his seditious pamphlets, intitled, *The History of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, applied to the Prelacy and Ministry of the Church of England.* By Mr. *John Penry*, a Martyr of *Jesus Christ.*"

After this recital of the title-page, D. *Heylin* proceeds to give us some account of the Author, from the *Preface* to the pamphlet in question; part of which I shall beg leave to detail.

"We are told in the Preface of it," says our Historian, 'That Mr. *John Penry* was a godly man, learned, zealous, and of a most christian carriage and courage. That he was born and bred in the mountains of *Wales*, and with all godly care and labour endeavoured to have the gospel preached amongst his countrymen, whose case he greatly seemed to pity, wanting all the ordinary means for salvation. That being used by God for a special instrument of the manifestation of his truth, he was hardly intreated, imprisoned, condemned, and executed, and so suffered martyrdom for the name of *Christ*..... He was judged on the 25th of the 5th month, and executed at S. *Thomas* of *Waterings*, near *London*, on the 29th of the same, in the year of our God 1593.'—"And in the Postscript to the same he concludes it thus, viz. 'That he was apprehended, adjudged, and executed for writing for the truth of *Christ*,

whatsoever other things were pretended against him.' "—*Hist. Presb.* L. IX. p. 325, 326.

Thus Q. *Elizabeth* made many *Martyrs*, as they were generally called (and esteemed as such) by the opposite party: and her *Supremacy*, like a two-edged sword, (and very like her father's) drew blood from *dissenting Protestants* as well as *Catholics*.

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§ 17. *Mr.* Collier's *Account of a* sanguinary Paper *presented to* Q. Elizabeth *by the* House of Commons, *wherein she is petitioned to dispatch the unfortunate* Mary, *Queen of* Scots.

But notwithstanding these severe checks, the *Puritans* (thro' the powerful patronage of the great Earl of *Leicester*, and some others of their friends at court) obtained admittance into the House of Commons; where (considering their well-known *affection* for crowned heads) it is not improbable but they might, perhaps, have had a hand in that *sanguinary paper* (as my Author styles it) or *Petition*, which was presented with an intention to prevail upon the hesitating *Elizabeth* to accelerate the execution of the unfortunate Queen of *Scots*, whose *guilt* they pretended to prove from the *plain* word of God. Mr. *Collier* has left us a specimen of their *fanatical arguments* upon this melancholy subject, with which, and his answers to them, we beg leave, for a while, to entertain our reader.

"†The House of Commons," says our historian, "came to a resolution, that the speedy trial of the Queen of *Scots* for high treason was necessary for the safety and preservation of the Queen's person. And to prevail with her to second this extraordinary motion, a paper was put into her hands upon this argument.—There is something in the paper which supposes it to be written, or suggested at least, by some Bishop. But whoever was the author, the reasoning is weak and sanguinary. To give the reader a part of the substance of it.

"The text of S. *Paul* to the *Romans* [*Rom.* xiii.] is alledged to shew that the magistrate is God's minister for the punishment of evil-doers. But what then? This pu-

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. vi. p. 536.

nishment ought to be executed on none but *subjects*, and not stretched to *princes* independent of the government. In the second place it is observed, that *Saul* lost God's protection, and had the crown transferred from his family, for sparing *Agag*, King of the *Amalekites*, [1 *Sam.* xv.] But here the author forgot to take notice, that *Saul* had an express command to destroy the *Amalekites*, without exception of persons. The third reason affirms, that every good prince ought to pursue those to death, who endeavour to debauch the people of God in their religion, and mislead them to idolatry. This is endeavoured to be made good from *Deuteronomy* xiii. where the nearest relations are commanded to be delated, and executed for such apostasy. In answer to this I observe, First, that there is no drawing a parallel between *Popery* and *Paganism*. Secondly, there is no arguing from the *Old* to the *New* Testament. The gospel is a much gentler dispensation than the law. And therefore the disciples who went upon the precedent of *Elias*, and called fire upon those of a different religion, are reprimanded by our Saviour, and charged with ignorance.

" The instance of *Joshua*'s killing the five kings dragged out of a cave [*Josh.* x.] is miserably misapplied : for the Queen of *Scots* was neither enemy nor prisoner of war. She came into *England* upon Q. *Elizabeth*'s invitation, and in confidence of protection.

" *Elijah*'s killing the prophets of *Baal* [1 *Kings* xviii.] is alledged as another reason for dispatching the Queen of *Scots*. But this Princess, notwithstanding the clamour made against her, had done nothing that might bring her to so scandalous a parallel. Besides, *Elijah* was under a supernatural direction, and had a warrant from God Almighty for these extraordinary proceedings. That he did nothing without an immediate commission from God, appears by his bringing down fire upon the sacrifice in so miraculous a manner.

" The paper has several other arguments ; but what has been observed may sufficiently show the unwarrantableness of the principles it goes upon."—However, from Scripture thus shamefully distorted, and thus *miserably misapplied*, *Elizabeth*, it seems, was induced to sacrifice to her own more than human perfidiousness, perhaps as accomplished a Princess, as ever wore a diadem.

I shall not mortify the reader or myself, with attempting, in this place, a description of the last act of this most shocking and deplorable tragedy. The sight of *Majesty* in *distress*, and in the *last* distress, has something in it above

the power of language to describe, or the energy of words to express! Let us, then, draw the veil over this melancholy scene, and let it suffice to be told,

"† That the manner of this Queen's death, her resignation to the will of God, her greatness of spirit, which seemed supported by some other power than the common assistance of natural courage, have recommended her name to the veneration of future ages, and covered the authors of this barbarous cruelty with indelible infamy and reproach."

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§ 18. *The Difference of* Q. Elizabeth's *Behaviour towards the* Catholics *and* Puritans.

WHICH of these two parties bid the fairest for court-favours in Q. *Elizabeth*'s reign, D. *Heylin* has determined in his *History of the Reformation* (p. 302), where he informs us, that "The *Presbyterians* had many powerful friends at court, in which the *Papists* had scarce any but mortal enemies. Spies and intelligencers were employed to attend them, and to observe all their words and actions; so that they could not stir without a discovery. But all men's eyes were shut up as to the other party; so that they might do what they liked, without observation."

But this is only a *sketch of Elizabeth*'s favour to one party, and of her aversion to another. We shall therefore, for the reader's farther satisfaction, endeavour to fill up the *outlines*, and finish the *picture*. And to begin with the Catholics.

Hard was the fate of these men, against whom the sword of persecution raged with uncommon fury, from the beginning to the end of this long reign! Nothing less than their utter ruin and destruction seems to have been determined on at court, and devised by the parliament! Then bloody penal laws were *first* enacted, and pushed to execution against the Catholics. Then *racks* and *tortures* were made use of, to force them to confess plots that were never by them concerted, and treasons which they never dreamed of.

"‡ *Leicester*, *Walsingham*, and others, who had already tasted the sweetness of confiscations, designed to make that (*i. e.* the Catholic) party desperate by ill usage, in hopes that they would rebel, and forfeit their estates; but when truth enough could not be found against them,

† *Short View*, p. 224. ‡ Ibid. p. 218.

Walsingham, by counterfeit letters, and confessions extorted by the pains and terrors of the rack, tumultuated the people with chimerical dangers!

But these dangers, as *chimerical* as they were, gave birth, however, to *real* tragedies. All the jails and prisons in the nation were crowded with Popish Priests and Popish Recusants; of whom, such as escaped the gallows, were doomed to suffer a languishing imprisonment for life, or to submit to the inconveniences of a perpetual banishment. It is needless to particularize or enlarge upon the woful subject of *persecution*. I take no pleasure in ripping up *old sores*, or *repeating grievances* long since complained of, and I wish I could say, *forgot*. If the reader requires any farther satisfaction in this matter, he will find it in a work lately published, and entitled, *Memoirs of the Missionaries*. It is sufficient, in this place, to take notice, that the *Profession of the Catholic Religion* was actually accounted a state-crime, and that *Elizabeth*'s penal laws made it *high treason* to pray to God after the *old fashion*, or to serve him as her and their ancestors had done before them!

"†These severe laws," says a modern historian, "drove the Catholicks here to very great straits. Many of them stole out of the kingdom; and if the laws had been put in full execution against them, in all probability we should not have had one ancient Popish Family residing in it at this day."—For, as he farther observes, (and it is an observation which other historians have made before him) "*There never was a Parliament summon'd during this long reign, wherein the Catholicks were not remarkably struck at.*"—To such a prodigious height did this revengeful Queen carry her implacable resentment and malice against them!

"‡But there was another party in the kingdom, whom it was necessary to guard against, and that was the *Puritans*. The Queen was very well acquainted with their principles; but the nobler game of Popery being then in full cry, these were tolerated.—And not only *tolerated*, but encouraged and caressed too: undoubtedly for their nimble joining with the rest of the pack then *in full cry* against Popery. This was their great, and indeed their only merit. This was the very thing that procured them a considerable number of abettors in the House of Commons, and not a few friends at the council board. Among the latter were the

† *Parliamentary Hist. of Eng.* Vol. IV. p. 260. ‡ *Idem*, ibid.

Earl of *Leicester*, Lord *Burleigh*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Francis Knowles* (sometime a disciple of *Calvin* at *Geneva*) and *Robert Beal*, Esq. clerk of the council, and a fiery *Puritan*, whose character D. *Heylin* (H. R. p. 302) has drawn in miniature as follows: "This *Beal* was in himself a most eager *Puritan*, trained up by *Walsingham* to draw dry-foot [i. e. to hunt like a blood-hound] after *Priests* and *Jesuites*, his extreme hatred to these men being looked upon as the only good quality which he could pretend to."

Add to this, that not a few of the clergy who were well known to be puritanically inclined, were admitted to church-preferments and fat livings. To give some instances. The famous bigotted Puritan *John Fox* was made a Prebendary of *Salisbury*. *Whittingham* was advanced to the Deanry of *Durham*. *Humphreys*, *Coverdale*, and others, had gentle usage. Their preaching was overlooked, and they were suffered to hold their preferments. *Packhurst*, *Sandys*, and *Pilkington*, Bishops of *Norwich*, *Worcester*, and *Durham*, leaned very much to the Dissenters' side. And the chair of *Canterbury* (upon *Parker's demise*) was filled with the person of Doctor *Grindal*, translated from *York: a man very zealously affected to the name of Calvin*, says D. *Heylin*.

It is true, indeed, that some of Q. *Elizabeth*'s prelates, (and Archbishop *Whitgift* above all the rest) were very sanguine and severe against the Nonconformists.

"The obstinacy of these men (says D. *Heylin*, H. R. Q. E. p. 144) in matter of *ceremony*, prompted the bishops to make trial of their orthodoxy in points of *doctrine*. Whereupon the *Articles of Religion* lately agreed upon were required to be subscribed to in all places, with threatening no less than deprivation to such as wilfully refused. Many there were that boggled at it, but yet not so perversely, nor in such great numbers, as when their faction was grown strong, and improved to multitudes.

"Some stumbled at it, in regard of the first clause added to the *twentieth article* about the *Authority of the Church*. Others in reference to the *thirty-sixth*, touching the *Consecration* of Archbishops and Bishops. Some thought they attributed more Authority to the Supreme Magistrate *over all persons and causes*, both *ecclesiastical* and *civil*, than could consist with that *Independency* which *Calvin* arrogated to his Presbyters. And others looked upon the *homilies* as beggarly rudiments, scarce milk for babes: but

by no means to be looked upon as meat for a stronger stomach. In general, thought by the *Genevans* and *Zuinglian* gospellers to have too much in them of the Pope, and too little of *Calvin*; and therefore no way to be subscribed to.

"Of which number, none so much remarkable as Father *John Fox*, the Martyrologist, who had before appeared in the schism at *Frankfort*, and left that church, when *Cox* had got the better in it, to retire to *Geneva:* who being called upon to subscribe, he is said to have appeared before the Bishop carrying the New Testament in *Greek* with him; before whom he spoke these words: 'To this Book will I subscribe; and if this will not serve, take my Prebend at *Salisbury*, the only preferment which I hold in the Church of *England;* and much good may it do you.' But, notwithstanding this refractory answer, so much kindness was shewed him, that he kept both his resolution and his place together."

It is also true, that Q. *Elizabeth*, in the 42d year of her reign, issued out special commissions to both the provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, to suppress the Puritans and their conventicles; but without effect. For it was too late to begin to curb them, when they were effectually grown too *high* and mighty for the *High-Commission-Court* itself to reach them. But for this the Queen might thank herself. Her Majesty, it seems, was so eagerly bent upon the total extirpation of the Catholic party, as to connive at and neglect all along the visible increase of the *Puritans;* who, to testify their *gratitude* for such *distinguishing* favours, cut out work enough for her to the end of her reign. After whose death, augmenting in numbers as well as power, it was not long before they found themselves strong enough to bring on another *Revolution* in the Church, which ended in a total subversion of Episcopacy and the Common-Prayer.

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§ 19.—*Conclusion of the First Part.*

We shall conclude the first part of these *Memoirs* with a brief inquiry into the *motives* that influenced the commencement, and the *methods* pursued in the management of the great business of reforming the Religion of *England.* And with regard to the first:

It plainly appears from impartial history, that the *motives* which animated the first projectors of a Reformation, were

not so primitive, nor their views so disinterested, as might have been wished, or expected at least, in so extraordinary an undertaking.

"† That the enterprize was not carried on without secular views, may be fairly conjectured by the issue."—And indeed it is as plain as any thing need be in history, that *secular views* were constantly and invariably pursued through the three first *reforming* reigns. It is a truth which, without much difficulty, may be demonstrated by *induction*.

To begin with the reign of King *Henry the Eighth*. In order to account for this monarch's revolt from the Church in which he was christened, what other motives are alledged by our historians, but these that follow? viz. His boundless *prodigality* and *profusion*. His eager and impetuous desire to gratify a lawless *passion*, and his determined resolution to be revenged, at any rate, on the *great obstacle of his desires*. Thus was *Henry* induced to *open the way to the Reformation*. Not out of a motive of piety, but out of *politic ends*.—See part of D. *Heylin*'s Preface to his *History of the Reformation*, quoted in the *Introduction*, (p. 2) which we think needless and unnecessary to be repeated here.——To descend to the next reign:

The main spring that gave motion to the whole machine of Reformation, during the short reign of King *Edward the Sixth*, what was it but *the holy thirst of gold?* This is candidly owned by D. *Heylin*, in his *History of the Reformation*, (A. 4. R. E. VI.) where, without mincing the matter, he tells us plainly, "That the consideration of *profit* did advance this work as much as any other, if perchance not more."—And in his Preface to the same History: "It may well be thought," says he, "that *covetousness* spurred on this business more than *zeal;* there being none of the images so poor and mean, the spoil whereof would not afford some gold and silver, if not jewels also; besides censers, candlesticks, and many other rich utensils appertaining to them."—And again, in the same Preface, we are told, that

"Some great men about the court [of King *Edward*] under colour of removing such corruptions as remained in the Church, had cast their eyes upon the spoils of shrines and images, and improving of their own fortunes by the chantery lands; all which they most sacrilegiously divided among themselves."

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. Book vi. p. 445.

Images, shrines, and *chantery lands*, being thus reformed away, what else could be expected, now their hands were in, but that the *altars* should follow them? as indeed they did. For the proposal for pulling down altars, &c. was quickly embraced, and as nimbly executed by the professors of *Zuinglianism*, who then ruled the roast.

"The *Zuinglian* gospellers," continues my author, "fell at last upon the altars which were left standing by the rules of the Liturgy. The touching upon this string made excellent musick to most of the grandees of the court, who had before cast many an envious eye on the costly hangings, that massy plate, and other rich and precious utensils which adorned those altars. —— Besides, there was no small spoil to be made of copes, in which the priests officiated at the holy sacrament, some of them being of cloath of tissue, of cloath of gold and silver, or embroidered velvet; the meanest being made of silk or sattin, with some decent trimming. And might not these be handsomely converted to private uses, to serve as carpets to their tables, coverlets to their beds, and cushions to their chairs and windows?"—Thus D. *Heylin*, in the Pref. to his *Hist. Ref.*

But what we are going to relate from the body of his history, is something, if possible, still more surprising.

"† As the Grandees of the Court," says he, "intended to defraud the King of so great a booty, and the Commissioners to put a cheat upon the Court Lords who employed them in it: so they were both prevented, in some places, by the lords and gentry of the country, who thought the altar-cloaths, together with the copes and plate of their several churches, to be as necessary for themselves as for any others."

Thus the *Grandees* and the *Court Lords*, the *Commissioners* and the *Country Gentlemen*, enter into a combination to cheat one another, and defraud the King. And thus they went on, *helter skelter*, spoiling and ravaging altars, and appropriating the holy plunder to prophane uses, as long as *Edward* lived. And these were the *godly motives* that inspired this *godly King* and his ministry with a notion of Reforming the Church!

As for Q. *Elizabeth*, it may well be doubted, if, in this great business, her *views* were less *secular* than her brother's, or the *ends* she aimed at were less *politic* than those of her father. By the Reformation which she had time

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 105.

enough to establish, she acquired a very considerable accession both of *power* and *profit*. For as, on the one hand, the *power of her Supremacy* enabled her to plunder the Church, and even to put it under something as bad as *military execution*; so, on the other hand, no small *profit* accrued from the unmerciful depredations she committed on *English* Bishoprics; by transferring the best part of their revenues (and sometimes the whole) to the crown, in virtue of a long *sede vacante*: of which D. *Heylin* more than once (and very justly) complains, in his *History of the Reformation*.—[See Part II. of these *Memoirs*, § 10.] But we shall here give the reader a taste of *Elizabeth*'s Religious Piracy, from another Ecclesiastical Historian.

"† As to the service of religion, I am sorry I cannot say her conduct was altogether so happy. She restored the reformation, 'tis true, but, in many places, left little provision to maintain it. She drew back the patrimony of the Church, restored by her sister Queen *Mary*, and reached somewhat unkindly into the remainder. To give an instance farther of the depredations during this reign: The Bishoprick of *Ely*, after *Cox*'s death, was kept vacant near twenty years. And when the see was filled, the next successor, *Heaton*, found most of his manors wrested from it. Sir *John Harrington* confesses this kind of management was reckoned one of the blemishes of this reign. The taking away the Bishops' lands, and returning the lamentable exchange of *Impropriations*, was a great blow to the Church.—If 'tis said, Queen *Elizabeth* had an Act of Parliament to justify her taking away the Bishops' lands, I grant she had so: but then it must be considered, her Majesty had solemnly sworn [at her coronation] to maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges: the difficulty, therefore, will be, to reconcile her passing this Bill with the Coronation Oath. However, the knot was cut and the scruple master'd: and which is more, the Act was driven home in the execution. These things consider'd, if this Queen's usage of the Clergy was compar'd with what they met with in the reign of King *Henry* VIII. 'tis to be fear'd it might be said, *Her little finger was thicker than her father's loins: and that he disciplined them with whips, but she chastised them with scorpions.*"

From this account of the *righteous motives*, proceed we, in the next place, to take a cursory view of the no less *righteous methods* of reforming the Church.

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. vii. p. 669.

Now these *methods* appear, at first sight, to have been formed upon a Gothic *Plan*, and executed in the same *taste*. Such plundering of churches, and such a prodigious devastation of the pious monuments of religious antiquity, as is scarce to be paralleled in any history, must needs give every dispassionate and unprejudiced person a *frightful idea* of the spirit and genius of our reformers!

"† To see noble structures, consecrated to the honour of the ever blessed Trinity, where all the articles of the *Apostles' Creed* were professed, the *Christian Sacraments* administered, and all the *Inspired Writings* received as such; placed where there was no polytheism, no addressing devils, no roasting of children, no licentious worship so much as pretended; in short, where there was no resemblance of a *parallel* with the *Heathen Idolatry* mentioned in the Old and New Testament: I say, to see the houses of God thus ravaged and razed, the holy furniture made plunder, and the church estates seiz'd, gives a frightful idea of some of these reformers: and to consider the fact, without knowing the whole history, would almost make a man believe some rough, uncultivated nation, had made an invasion, and carried the country!"

To this general observation of our author, upon the *rough method* of reforming, we beg leave to subjoin the following particular instance.

"‡ When the Abby of *Leicester* was surrender'd, *Cave*, one of the commissioners, informs *Cromwell*, that himself and the other visitors had made a sale of the ornaments of the church, amounting to 228 pounds, besides the plate, lead, bells, &c. From hence he proceeds to desire the Vicar General's order for defacing the church, and other superstitious buildings."

And thus fell *Leicester* Abbey! but not alone. Many *noble structures*, as well as this, were involved in the same general massacre! Of all which, little or nothing now remains, either to entertain the inquisitive, or to recompense the laborious researches of the most industrious antiquary!

And now, to sum up the evidence in as few words as possible, let it be remembered, that King *Henry* VIII. raised disturbances in the Church out of *politic ends*; that the *Grandees* under King *Edward* VI. commenced a Re-

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. vi. p. 471.
‡ *Ibid.* Vol. II. B. iii. p. 161.

for *several ends*, though their principal end was to create *estates*, or to improve their *fortunes* out of the spoil of rifled churches; and that Q. *Elizabeth* found her account in dilapidating cathedral churches and seizing upon bishops' lands. This indeed was the only mischief she could do the Church, the abbies, monasteries, chanteries, &c. having been plundered and destroyed before she came to the crown: otherwise, in all probability, she would have spared them no more than her father and brother did.

We have nothing more to add, by way of elucidation, to this subject, but Mr. *Collier*'s sentiments upon the disedifying conduct of King *Henry the Eighth* and his reforming children.

"† It must be confessed," says he, "there were several shocking circumstances in the reign of King *Henry* VIII. and his children [*Edward* and *Elizabeth*.] For to see churches pulled down or rifled, the plate swept off the altar, and the holy furniture converted to common use, had no great air of devotion. To see the choir undressed, to make the drawing-room and bed-chamber fine, was not very primitive at first sight. The forced surrender of abbies, the maiming of bishopricks, and lopping the best branches of their revenues, the stopping of impropriated tithes from passing into the ancient channel: unless a man's understanding is more than ordinarily improv'd, he'll be at a loss to reconcile these measures with Christian maxims, and make them fall in with Conscience and Reformation."

And from these candid concessions we may infer: That if no one must pretend to reconcile the *shocking circumstances* of K. *Henry*'s, K. *Edward*'s, and Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reformations, and their unprimitive *measures* with *Christian measures*, or *Conscience* with *Reformation*, but such only as are endowed with more than *ordinary improvements* of learning, and *uncommon capacities*, very few, we may presume, will be found equal to the task.

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. iii. p. 163.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Part of Pope Clement VII.*'s Letter to King* Henry VIII.

NAM ex iis quas pro Vobis facere doctorum hominum atque Universitatum Opiniones scribitis, paucæ admodum venerunt in manus nostras, Nobis non legitimè, nec Regis Nomine, ab Oratoribus præsentatæ; illæque nudæ tantùm illorum hominum Opiniones, nullis adscriptis Rationibus cur ita sentiant, nullâque Sacrorum Canonum et Scripturæ, quæ tantum spectare debemus, Authoritate subnixæ.—*Collier's Collec. of Records*, No. XV.

No. II.

WE are indebted to my Lord *Herbert* for the following *dissuasive harangue*. It was spoke, he assures us, by one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council; but what was this Privy Counsellor's *name* the reader must not expect to be told by us, because it seems to be one of those *secrets* which, we suppose, it was not in his Lordship's power to communicate to any body. So our noble historian contents himself with informing us, that *it was made by one who much favoured the Papal Authority;* which, indeed, may be easily conjectured from the nature of his style and argumentation. But whoever was the author of the speech we are going to recount, or whatever was his *name*, (which is not very material to know) at least he is said to have addressed himself to the King at the Council-board as follows:

"Sir,

"Your Highness is now come to a point which needs a strong and firm resolution; it being not only the most important in itself that can be presented to this *honourable board*, but likewise of that consequence, that it will comprehend your kingdom and posterity. It is, 'Whether, in this business of your divorce and second marriage, as well as in all other ecclesiastical affairs in your dominions, you will make use of your own or the Pope's authority?' For my own part, as an *Englishman*, and your Highness's

subject, I must wish all power in your Highness. But when I consider the ancient practice of this kingdom, I cannot but think any innovation dangerous. For, if in every temporal estate it be necessary to come to some supreme authority, whence all inferior magistracy should be derived, it seems more necessary in religion; both as the body thereof seems more susceptible of a head than any else, and as that head again must direct many others. We should therefore, above all things, labour to keep an unity in the parts thereof, as being the sacred bond which knits and holds together, not its own alone, but all other government. But how much, Sir, shall we recede from the dignity thereof, if we (at once) retrench this its chief and most eminent part? And who ever liked that body long, whose *head* was taken away? Certainly, Sir, an authority received for many ages ought not rashly to be rejected. For is not the Pope *Communis Pater* (the common Father) in the christian world, and arbiter of their differences? Does he not support the majesty of religion, and vindicate it from neglect? Does not the holding his authority from God keep men in awe, not of temporal alone, but of eternal punishments, and therein extend his power beyond death itself? And will it be secure, to lay aside those potent means of reducing people to their duty, and trust only to the sword of justice, and secular arms? Besides, who shall mitigate the rigour of the laws, in those cases which may admit of exception, if the Pope be taken away? Who shall presume to give orders, or administer the sacraments of the Church? Who shall be the depository of the oaths and leagues of princes? or fulminate against the perjured infractors of them? For my part (as affairs now stand) I find not how either general peace amongst princes, or any equal moderation in human affairs, can be well conserved without him. For as his court is a kind of chancery to all the other courts of justice in the christian world, so, if you take it away, you subvert that equity and conscience, which should be the rule and interpreter of all laws and constitutions whatsoever. I will conclude, that I wish your Highness (as my King and Sovereign) all true greatness and happiness, but think it not fit (in this case) that your subjects should either examine by what right ecclesiastical government is innovated, or inquire how far they are bound thereby; since, beside that it might cause division, and hazard the overthrow both of the one and the other authority, it would give that offence and scandal abroad, that foreign princes would both reprove

and disallow all our proceedings in this kind, and, upon occasion, be disposed easily to join against us."——*Lord* Herbert's *Life of King* Henry *the Eighth, p.* 390.

No. III.

Extract of a Discourse concerning the Royal Supreme Power Ecclesiastical, *which Mr.* Collier *tells us he found in the* Paper Office ; *adding, at the same time, this remark, that* " *'Tis drawn up with advantage by a learned hand, most probably in the reign of King* Charles *the Second, and is intitled:*

" *A Discourse concerning his Majesty's Supreme Power Ecclesiastical, established by the Laws of this Kingdom, at this present time in full force and Vigour.*"

" AMONGST the *jurisdictions*, [invested in the King by virtue of our laws] it is evident that Excommunications, Suspensions, and Deprivations *ab Officio*, and all manner of dispensations *belonging to the Church*, are to be understood *annexed to the King*. Not that it is affirmed that the King did ever exercise himself the power of the *keys*, but that this *right* was annexed to the Imperial Crown: that no clergyman being a member of the Church of *England* and *Ireland* should exercise it in his dominions in any case, or any person, without the licence and approbation of him the Supreme Head of the Church ; nor any forbear to exercise it, where he the Head commanded it. As before the reformation, the inferior clergy might not exercise any church censure contrary to the commands of their lawful superiors ; which *jurisdiction of their former spiritual superiors* was now instated in the King : not as one subordinate to any ecclesiastical jurisdiction herein, but as one by God *primarily invested with the disposal thereof*, from whom the *ecclesiastical governors* within his dominions derive their authority, 2 E. 6. c. 1. And accordingly we find, in Stat. 5 and 6, 2 E. 6. c. 1. that by *virtue* of that *act* the Archbishops and Bishops should punish, by censures of the Church, all persons who shall offend. Which clause, *by virtue of this act*, implies, that the Bishops might not excommunicate, and use the censures of the Church, without the King and Parliament's licence, and ought to excommunicate in all matters wherein the King and Parliament commands it. Whereby it is most clearly to be understood, that the Jurisdiction Spiritual,

ascribed to the King or Queen in the acts aforementioned, involves the Jurisdiction of Excommunication, as well as others, if not exercised by himself and his vicegerents, and other commissioners, lay-persons; (which practice notwithstanding, in King *Henry* VIIIth's days, seems to be recorded, and further confirmed, by allowing them to be *married persons*, in the act 37 H. 8. c. 17.) yet so established in the King, as to appoint when and for what matters the clergy within this realm shall execute or not execute it.

"As the power of Ecclesiastical Censures is instated in the King, so is that also of giving all manner of licences, dispensations, faculties, grants, &c. For all laws and constitutions merely ecclesiastical, and all causes not being contrary to the scriptures and the laws of God, it is not only taken from the Pope, but from *the Clergy of this Church*, and committed to the King, after the manner enacted 25 H. 8. c. 21. where the Archbishop is constituted the King's *instrument* in giving the said licences, &c.

"Now as for the exercise of this *supreme jurisdiction*, it was enacted, both in King *Henry the Eighth*'s reign, and Queen *Elizabeth*'s, 1 *Eliz.* c. 1. and 8 *Eliz.* c. 1. that the King shall have full power and authority to name and authorize, by commission under his broad seal, such person or persons as his Majesty shall think meet, so they be born subjects of *England*, [Note, that King *Henry* was limited to choose half of them clergymen, which the present King is not] to execute and exercise, under his Majesty, all manner of jurisdictions, &c. to visit, reform, and redress all such errors, heresies, schisms, &c. which by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power may lawfully be reformed, &c.

"By virtue of this supremacy ecclesiastical, the King's Majesty is made the *ultimate judge of heresy*, and the *determiner* of what is agreeable or repugnant to God's law. And all his subjects are *obliged* to receive, observe, and submit unto the godly instructions and determinations set forth by his Majesty.

"By virtue of this supremacy, the clergy are bound to admit and consecrate what person soever the King shall present to any bishoprick, upon penalty of incurring *præmunire*; and the consecration is to be performed by such and so many as the King shall appoint; which persons are to do this work, not by virtue of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction in them, but as the King's *delegates*, who by his *Letters Patents* commands them to consecrate the elect Bishop; and in *them*, if there be any canonical defect or impediment, the King, by his Royal Supreme Spiritual Jurisdiction, dis-

penses with it. Both of which things are evident by the *patent* for the consecration of Archbishop *Parker* in Queen *Elizabeth*, by the instrument of the said Archbishop's confirmation, and by the practice ever since.

" Many more instances might be given of the exercise of the Royal Supreme Ecclesiastical Authority and Jurisdiction. But it may suffice to add this only: That whatsoever the Bishop of *Rome* could lawfully do in the time preceding the Stat. 25 H. 8. either in relaxation of the penalty, or suspension of the inferior ecclesiastical jurisdiction, all that is now legally instated in the King, as is evident from these two maxims, universally acknowledged by lawyers, and in the statutes since that time: First, that all manner of Spiritual Jurisdiction, formerly lawfully exercised in *England* and *Ireland*, does now belong to the King. Secondly, that all Spiritual Jurisdiction exercised by any subject in the said kingdoms, is held and exercised from, by, and under the King."——See the *whole* of this curious discourse in Mr. *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. ii. p. 89. It is somewhat too long to be transcribed at large; but what we have extracted from it may suffice, we presume, to give the reader an idea of that *Supreme Power Ecclesiastical*, which is invested in the King by the laws of this land.

No. IV.

An Act for the Repeal of two several Acts made in the Time of King Edward the Sixth, *touching the Dissolution of the Bishoprick of* Durham.

" WHEREAS there hath been, time out of mind of any man to the contrary, a See of a Bishop of *Durham*, commonly called *The Bishoprick of Durham*, which hath been one of the most ancient and worthiest Bishopricks in dignity and spiritual promotion within the realm of *England*, and the same place always supplied and furnished with a man of great learning and virtue; which was both to the honour of God, and the exercise of his true religion, and a great surety to that part of the realm: nevertheless, the said Bishoprick was, without any just cause or consideration, by authority of Parliament, dissolved, extinguished, and exterminated: and further, by the authority of the said Parliament, it was ordained and enacted, that the said Bi-

shoprick, together with all the ordinary jurisdiction thereunto appertaining, should be adjudged clearly dissolved and extinguished; and that King *Edward the Sixth* should from henceforth have, possess, and enjoy, to him, his heirs, and successors for ever, whatsoever did appertain or belong to the said Bishoprick, in as large and ample a manner and form as any Bishop thereof had, held, or possessed, or of right ought to have had, held, or possessed, &c. Be it therefore enacted, &c."

No. V.

Archbishop Heath's, *Bishop* Scot's, *and Abbot* Feckenham's *Speeches against Q.* Elizabeth's *Supremacy, and the New Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer; with some Account of the Speakers.*

"**Q.** *Elizabeth*, in the first Parliament of her summoning (besides admitting the Catholic Bishops) sent her writ to the *Lord Prior *Tresham* and Abbot *Feckenham*, to make their appearance, with the rest of her Barons, in her Great Council."—*Ful. Ch. Hist.* B. VII. p. 359.

In this grand council of the nation, two things seem to have been resolved on by the Queen and her more intimate counsellors. The first was, to rear up again the pillar of *Supremacy*, which Queen *Mary* had thrown down; and the latter was, to introduce a *new Liturgy*, or form of public worship. — Against the first, Archbishop *Heath*, in the House of Lords, stood up, and spoke as follows:

"My Lords,

"With humble submission of my whole discourse to your Honours, I propose to speak to the body of this act, touching the *Supremacy;* that so what this Honourable Assembly is now a doing, concerning the passing of this act, may thereby be better weighed and considered by your wisdoms. First, when by virtue of this Act of Supremacy, we must forsake and fly from the See of *Rome*, it should be considered by your wisdoms, what manner of danger or inconvenience may attend such a step; or else, whether there be none at all. Secondly, when the intent of this act is to give unto the Queen's Highness a *Supremacy*, it should be con-

* He was Lord Prior (or Grand Master, as some call him) of the Knights Hospitallers of *Jerusalem*, refounded by Queen *Mary*.

sidered by your wisdoms, what this *Supremacy* is, and whether it doth consist in *spiritual government* or in *temporal*. If in temporal, what further authority can this House give unto her Highness, than what she hath already by right of inheritance, and this not by our gift, but by the appointment of God? she being our Sovereign Lord and Lady, our King and Queen, our Emperor and Empress. And if, further than this, we acknowledge her to be *Head of the Church of England*, we ought also to grant, that the Emperor, or any other Prince, being Catholic, and their subjects Protestants, are to be *heads* of their church. Whereby we shall do an act as disagreeable to Protestants, as this seems to Catholics. If you say this Supremacy doth consist in *spiritual government*, then it should be considered, what this spiritual government is, and in what points it doth chiefly consist. Which being first agreed upon, it should be further considered by your Wisdoms, whether this House may grant it to her Highness or not? and whether her Highness be an apt person to receive the same? So, by a thorough examination of these points, your Honours will proceed in this matter groundedly, upon sure knowledge, and not be deceived with ignorance.

"Now to the *first point*, wherein I promised to examine, what matter of weight, danger, or inconvenience, might be incurred by thus our forsaking and flying from the See of *Rome*. And if there were no further therein, than the withdrawing our obedience from the Pope's person, (supposing that he had declared himself to be a very austere and severe Father to us) then the business were not of so great importance, as it is in very deed, as will immediately appear. For, by relinquishing and forsaking the See of *Rome*, we must forsake and fly from these four things: First, we must forsake and fly from all General Councils. Secondly, we must fly from all Canonical and Ecclesiastical Laws of the Church of *Christ*. Thirdly, from the judgment of all other Christian Princes. Fourthly, and lastly, we must forsake and fly from the Unity of *Christ*'s Church, and by leaping out of *Peter*'s ship, hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waves of schism, sects, and divisions.

"First, touching General Councils, I shall only name unto you these four, viz. the *Nicene*, the *Constantinopolitan*, the *Ephesine*, and that of *Chalcedon*, which are approved by all men, doubted or denied by no man. Of the which four councils S. *Gregory* writeth in this wise: '*Sicut enim Sancti Evangelii quatuor Libros, sic hoc quatuor Concilia, scilicet, Nicenum, Constantinopolitanum, Ephesinum,*

et Chalcedonense, suscipere ac venerari me fateor—I confess I do receive and reverence these four General Councils of *Nice*, of *Constantinople*, of *Ephesus*, and of *Chalcedon*, even as I do the four Evangelists.'—At the *Nicene* Council, the first of the four, the Bishops which were there assembled did write their epistle to *Sylvester*, then Bishop of *Rome*, 'That their decrees made there might be confirmed by his authority.' At the council held at *Constantinople*, all the Bishops there were obedient to *Damasus*, then Bishop of *Rome*. He, as chief judge in that Council, gave sentence against the heretics *Macedonius*, *Sabellius*, and *Eunomius;* which *Eunomius* was both an *Arian*, and the first author of that heresy, *that only faith doth justify.* And here (by the way) it is much to be lamented, that we the inhabitants of this realm, are much more inclined to raise up the errors and sects of ancient condemned heretics, than to follow the true approved doctrine of the most catholic and learned Fathers of *Christ*'s Church. At the *Ephesine* Council, *Nestorius* the heretic was condemned by *Celestin*, then Bishop of *Rome*, he being the chief judge there. At the Council of *Chalcedon*, all the Bishops assembled there (to the number of six hundred and thirty) did write their humble submission unto *Leo*, then Bishop of *Rome*, wherein they did acknowledge him to be their *Chief Head.* Therefore, to deny the See Apostolic and its authority, were to contemn and set at nought the judgment, authority, and decrees of these four councils.

"Secondly, we must forsake and fly from all Canonical and Ecclesiastical Laws of *Christ*'s Church, whereunto we have already confessed our obedience at the font, saying, *Credo Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam*—I believe the Holy Catholic Church. Which article containeth, that we must believe, not only that there is a *Catholic Church*, but that we must receive also the doctrine and sacraments of the same church, obey her laws, and live according to the same; which laws do depend wholly upon the authority of the *See Apostolic.* And like as it is here openly professed by the judges of this realm, that the laws agreed upon in the Higher and Lower Houses of this Honourable Parliament, be of small or none effect before the royal assent of the King or Prince be given thereunto: just so, ecclesiastical laws, when made, cannot bind the Universal Church of *Christ*, without the *royal assent* and confirmation of the See Apostolic.

"Thirdly, we must forsake and fly from the judgment of all other Christian Princes, whether they be Protestant or

Catholick, when none of them do agree with these our doings ; King *Henry the Eighth* being the first that ever took upon him the title of *Supremacy*. And whereas it was of late, here in this House, said by a Nobleman, *that the title of Supremacy is of right due to the King, because he is King;* then it would follow, that *Herod*, being a King, should be *Supreme Head* of the Church at *Jerusalem*, and *Nero* the Emperor, *Supreme Head* of the Church of *Christ* at *Rome:* they being both infidels, and therefore no members of *Christ*'s Church. And if our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, at his departure from this world, should have left the Spiritual Government of his Church in the hands of Emperors and Kings, and not have committed the same unto his Apostles, how negligently then should he have left his Church, will appear right well, by calling to your remembrance, that the Emperor *Constantine the Great* was the first Christian Emperor, and reigned not till above three hundred years after the ascension of *Christ*. If, therefore, by your proposition, *Constantine*, the first Christian Emperor, was the first *Chief Head* and Spiritual Governor of *Christ*'s Church throughout his empire, then it followeth, that our Saviour *Christ*, for the whole time and space of three hundred years, until the coming of *Constantine*, had left his Church, which he had dearly bought by the effusion of his most precious blood, without any Head at all. Besides, how untrue the saying of this Nobleman was, will further appear from the examples of *Ozias* and King *David*. For when King *Ozias* did take the censer to incense the altar of God, the Priest *Azarias* did resist him, and expelled him out of the Temple, and said unto him these words : '*Non est officii tui*, Oza, *ut adoleas incensum Domino, sed sacerdotum, hoc est, filiorum* Aaron, *qui consecrati sunt ad hujusmodi ministerium.* [2 *Paral.* xxvi. 18.] —It is not thy office, *Ozias*, to offer incense to the Lord, but it belongs to the priests, that is, to the children of *Aaron*, who are consecrated to this kind of ministry.'—Now I shall most humbly demand this question : When the Priest *Azarias* said to the King, *Non est officii tui*, &c.— It is not thy office, &c. whether he said true or no? If you answer, that he spoke truth, then the King was not the *Supreme Head* of the Church of the *Jews*. If you say no : why did God then plague the king with a leprosy, and not the priest? Again : the Priest *Azarias*, in resisting the King, and thrusting him out of the Temple, did he act the part of a subject, or no ? If you answer no, why then did God spare the Priest, and not the King ? If you answer

yea, then it is most manifest that *Ozias,* merely because he was a King, could not be Supreme Head of the Church. And as touching the example of King *David,* in bringing home the ark of God from the country of the *Philistines* to the city of *David,* what *Supremacy,* or Spiritual Government of God's ark, did King *David* there take upon him? Did he place himself amongst the priests, or take upon him any spiritual function appertaining to them? Did he approach near unto the ark, or yet presume to touch the same? No, by no means. For he had seen before *Oza* struck dead by the hand of God for the like arrogance and presumption. And therefore King *David* did go before the ark of God with his harp, making melody, and placed himself amongst the minstrels; and so humbly did he abase himself, though a king, as to dance before the ark of God, like his other subjects. Insomuch that his Queen *Michol,* King *Saul*'s daughter, seeing this great humility of King *David,* disdained him for it. Whereupon King *David* made her this answer: *Ante Dominum qui elegit me potius quàm Patrem tuum, et quàm omnem Domum ejus—et ludam, et vilior fiam, plus quam factus sum*—Before the Lord, who hath chosen me, rather than thy Father, and than all his house, I will both play, and also become more abject than I have been.' [2 *Kings* vi. 20, 21.] Such was the laudable humility of this king! Now, may it please your Honours to consider, which of both these kings it shall be most convenient for your Wisdoms to move the Queen's Majesty to follow; whether the example of proud *Ozias,* induced by your persuasions and counsels to take upon her the Spiritual Government, and thereby exposing her soul to be plagued at the hand of God, as King *Ozias* was; or else to follow the example of good King *David,* who, in refusal of all Spiritual Government about the ark of God, did humble himself in the manner I have already declared. To which our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highness, of her own nature, being well inclined, we may assure ourselves to have of her as humble, as virtuous, and as godly a mistress to reign over us, as ever had *English* people here in this realm; if that her Highness be not by your flattery and dissimulation, seduced and beguiled.

"Fourthly, and lastly, we must forsake and fly from the Unity of *Christ*'s Church. For the holy martyr, St. *Cyprian,* tells us, *That the Unity of the Church of Christ doth depend upon the Unity of Peter's Authority.* Therefore, by leaping out of *Peter*'s ship, we must needs be overwhelmed with the schism, sects, and divisions; because

the same holy martyr, in his third Epistle to *Cornelius*, assures us, 'That all heresies and schisms spring from hence, that men will not be obedient to the chief Bishop of God — *Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quàm inde, quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur.*' And how true this saying of St. *Cyprian* is, appears both by the example of the *Germans*, and by us, the inhabitants of this realm of *England*. For by our forsaking and flying from the Unity of the Church of *Rome*, this inconvenience, amongst many others, must consequently follow: that either we must grant the Church of *Rome* to be the true Church of God, or else a malignant Church. If you answer, that it is the true Church of God, where *Jesus Christ* is truly taught, and all his sacraments rightly administered, how can we vindicate our forsaking and flying from that Church which we profess and acknowledge to be of God, when with that Church which is of God, we ought to be *one*, and not admit of any separation? If you answer, that the Church of *Rome* is not of God, but a malignant Church, then it will follow, that we, the inhabitants of this realm, have not received any benefit of *Christ*, since we have received no other gospel, no other doctrine, no other faith, not other sacraments, but what were sent us from the Church of *Rome*. First, in King *Lucius*'s days, at whose humble remonstrance the holy martyr *Eleutherius*, then Bishop of *Rome*, sent into this realm two holy Monks, *Fugatius* and *Damianus*, by whose doctrine and preaching we were first brought to the knowledge of the faith of *Jesus Christ*, of his gospel, and of his most holy sacraments. Secondly, holy St. *Gregory*, being Bishop of *Rome*, sent into this realm two other holy Monks, St. *Augustine* (called the Apostle of *England*), and *Mellitus*, to revive the very same faith of *Jesus Christ*, which had been planted in this realm in the days of King *Lucius*. Thirdly, and last of all, *Paul* III. being Bishop of *Rome*, sent hither his Grace Cardinal *Pole*, by birth a nobleman of this realm, as his Legate, to restore us to the same Faith which the blessed Martyr *Eleutherius* and holy Saint *Gregory* had planted here many years before. If, therefore, the Church of *Rome* be not of God, but a false and malignant Church, then we have been deceived all this while; for the gospel, the doctrine, the faith and sacraments, must be of the same nature with that Church from whence it and they came. Therefore, in relinquishing and forsaking that Church, the inhabitants of this realm shall be forced to seek

further for another gospel of *Christ*, other doctrine, other faith and sacraments, than we have hitherto received; which will breed such errors, schisms, and confusions amongst us, as were never in any Christian realm. And therefore it is a case worthy of your Wisdoms most mature consideration, before you pass this Act of Supremacy. And thus much touching the first point.

"Now to the *second point*, wherein I promised to move your Honours to consider what this *Supremacy* is, which we go about, by virtue of this act, to give unto the Queen's Highness, and wherein it doth consist; as whether in *spiritual government* or in *temporal*. If in *spiritual*, as the words of the act import, *Supreme Head of the Church of England immediately and next under God*, then it should be considered, in what points this *spiritual government* doth consist; and the points being well known, it should be further considered, whether this House has *authority* to give them, and her Highness *ability* to receive them.

"As to the points wherein this *spiritual government* doth consist, I have, in reading the gospel, and the whole course of divinity thereupon (as to my vocation belongeth) observed these four, as chief among many others. The first is, *To loose and bind sins;* when our Saviour, in ordaining *Peter* to be chief Governor of his Church, said unto him: '*Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, &c.*—To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c.' Now it should be considered by your Wisdoms, whether you have sufficient authority to grant unto her Majesty this first point of *spiritual government*, and to say unto her, '*Tibi dabimus*—To thee will we give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' If you say Yea, then do we require a sight of your warrant and commission, by virtue of God's word. And if you say No, then you may be well assured, and persuade yourselves, that you have not sufficient authority to make her Highness Supreme Head of the Church of *Christ* in this realm.

"The second point of *spiritual government* is gathered out of the words of our Saviour *Christ*, spoken to St. *Peter* in the 21st chapter of St. *John*'s Gospel: '*Pasce agnos meos. Pasce oves meas*—Feed my lambs. Feed my sheep.' Now whether your Honours have authority, by this High Court of Parliament, to say unto our Sovereign Lady: *Feed my lambs. Feed my sheep.* You must show warrant and commission for it. And further, that her Highness being a woman by birth and nature, is not qualified by God's

word, *to feed the flock of Christ*, appears most plainly from St. *Paul* in this wise saying: '*Mulieres in Ecclesiis taceant, non enim permittitur eis loqui, sed subditas esse, sicut et lex dicit*—Let women be silent in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak, but to be in subjection, as also the law saith.' And it follows in the same place: '*Turpe est enim mulieri loqui in Ecclesia*—For it is a shameful thing for a woman to speak in the Church.' 1 *Cor.* xiv. 34, 36. And in his first Epistle to *Timothy*, ii. 12. he says: '*Docere autem mulieri non permitto, neque dominari in virum, sed esse in silentio*—I permit not a woman to teach, nor to exercise authority over the man, but to be in silence.' Therefore it appears, that your Honours have not authority to give her Highness this second point of Church Government, *to feed the flock of Christ*, so her Highness, by St. *Paul*'s doctrine, may not intermeddle herself with the same. Therefore she cannot be *Supreme Head of the Church in England.*

"The third point of spiritual government is gathered out of these words of our Saviour *Christ*, spoken to St. *Peter* in the 2 d chapter of St. *Luke*'s Gospel: '*Ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus, confirma fratres tuos*—I have prayed for thee, that thy faith may not fail: do thou also, when thou art come back, confirm thy brethren.' That is, ratify and establish them in wholesome doctrine and the administration of the sacraments, which are the blessed instruments of our sanctification. But to preach, and to administer the sacraments, a woman may not be admitted. Therefore she cannot be *the Supreme Head of Christ's Church.*

"The fourth and last chief point of spiritual government, which I promised to note unto you, doth consist in excommunication, and spiritual punishment of all such as shall discover themselves not to be obedient children of *Christ*'s Church. Of which authority our Saviour *Christ* speaks, (*Matt.* xviii.) there saying, '*Dic Ecclesia*—Tell it to the Church. And if he will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen or a publican.' So the Apostle St. *Paul* did excommunicate the notorious *fornicator* that was amongst the *Corinthians*, and this by the authority of his apostleship. Unto which apostles, *Christ* ascending into heaven, did leave the whole spiritual government of his Church, as appeareth by these plain words of St. *Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, chap. iv. 'He hath given [to his Church] some to be apostles, some prophets, some

evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the consummation of the saints, to the work of the ministry, to the building up of the body of *Christ.*' But a woman, in the degrees of the Church, is not called to be an apostle, nor evangelist, nor to be a pastor, nor a preacher, nor a teacher. Therefore she cannot be the *Supreme Head* of *Christ*'s militant Church, nor yet of any part thereof.

" And thus much have I here said, Right Honourable and my very good Lords, against this Act of *Supremacy*, for the discharge of my poor conscience, and for the love, and fear, and dread, which I chiefly owe unto God, to our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty's Highness, and to your Lordships all ; when otherwise, without mature consideration of all these premises, your Honours will never be able to show your faces before your enemies in this matter ; it being so strange a *spectacle*, so rash an example, as in this realm is only to be found, and in no other Christian kingdom in the world.

" Thus humbly beseeching your Lordships to take in good part this unartful and plain speech, which I have delivered, out of no small zeal and good will, I shall now forbear to trouble your Lordships any longer."

Some Account of D. Heath, *the* 60*th (and last Catholic) Archbishop of* York.

" *Nicholas Heath*, a Londoner born, was Doctor of Divinity in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Almoner to King *Henry* VIII. His next preferment was, that *anno* 1539 he was consecrated Bishop of *Landaff*, and the same year was removed to *Rochester*, where he did not sit above four years till he was translated to *Worcester*. In the time of King *Edward* VI. he was deprived of his Bishoprick of *Worcester*, for refusing to take the Oath of *Supremacy*, but Queen *Mary* restored him again in the beginning of her reign, and also made him Lord President of *Wales*. He was soon after translated to York ; the bull of Pope *Paul* IV. which confirmed his election thereto, and is the last instrument of that kind acknowledged in this See, bears date 11 *kal. Julii*, *anno* 1555. On the 3d of *October* following the pall was sent him, for the plenary administration of his office ; and on the 22d of *January* the same year, he was solemnly installed and enthroned in person.

" Whilst he sat here as Archbishop, he made it his business to retrieve what was lost from the See by his predeces-

sors; and by his interest in Queen *Mary*, he obtained *Suffolk-House*, in *Southwark*, in recompense for *White-Hall*. But this being at too great a distance from court, he procured instead thereof *York-place*, in the *Strand*, which himself and successors enjoyed, till King *James the First*, to please the Duke of *Buckingham*, exchanged it with Archbishop *Matthews* for lands elsewhere. Our Prelate also prevailed upon the Queen to restore *Ripon* lordship, with seven other manors, members thereof, alienated by *Holgate*; *Southwell* he also got reverted, and five more manors in *Nottinghamshire*. Insomuch that it may be truly said, that the See of *York* owes to Queen *Mary* and this Archbishop a third part of its present revenues.

"Upon *Stephen Gardiner*'s death, *Nicholas*, being then Archbishop of *York*, was constituted Lord Chancellor of *England*, which place he held all the reign of Queen *Mary*. Upon the death of this Princess, he, by his authority, called together the Nobility and Commons in Parliament, then lately assembled, but dissolved upon her demise, and gave orders for the proclaiming of *Elizabeth*. A circumstance the more remarkable, in that immediately upon her accession our Prelate was deprived; though not so much for want of loyalty to her person and right of succession, as for his religion, in which he always kept steady to the Church of *Rome*. The Queen, however, paid such regard to his merit, that she suffered him to retire to a small estate he had at *Cobham*, in *Surrey*. Here it was that he spent the remainder of his days unmolested, in a studious and religious manner, and free from harbouring any thoughts of faction or revenge. He died in this place *anno* 1566, and was buried in the chancel of the church there, under a blue stone, as our writers inform us, and the inhabitants have still a tradition." *Drake's Antiq. of York*, B. II. ch. i. p. 453.

D. Feckenham's *Speech against Queen* Elizabeth's New Liturgy, *or* Common Prayer-Book.

"Honourable and my very good Lords,

"Having at this present two sundry kinds of religion here propounded and set forth before your Honours, being already in possession of the one of them, and your fathers before you, for the space of fourteen hundred years past, here in this realm, like as I shall hereafter prove unto you, the other religion here set forth in a book, to be received

and established by the authority of this High Court of Parliament, and to take its effect here in this realm, at *Midsummer* next coming. And you being, as I know, right well desirous to have some proof, or sure knowledge, which of both these religions is the better, and most worthy to be established here in this realm, and to be preferred before the other, I will, for my part, and for the discharge of my duty, first unto God; secondly unto our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highness; thirdly unto your Honours, and the whole Commons of this realm, here set forth, and express unto you three brief rules or lessons, whereby your Honours shall be able to put the difference betwixt the true religion of God and the counterfeit, and therein never be deceived. The first of these rules or lessons is, that in your search and tryal-making, your Honours must observe, which of them both hath been of most antiquity, and most observed in the Church of *Christ*, of *all men*, at *all times*, and in *all places*. The second, which of them both is of itself more stedfast, and always One, and agreeable with itself. The third and last rule to be considered of your Wisdoms, is, which of these religions doth breed the more humble and obedient subjects; first, unto God, and next, unto our Sovereign Lady, the Queen's Highness, and to all superior powers.

"Concerning the first rule and lesson, it cannot be truly affirmed, nor yet thought, of any man, that this new religion, here now to be set forth in this book, hath been observed in *Christ*'s Church, of *all Christian men*, at *all times*, and in *all places*; when the same hath been observed only here in this realm, and that for a short time, as not much passing the space of two years, and that in King *Edward* VI.'s days; whereas the religion, and the very same manner of serving and honouring God, of which you are at this present in possession, did begin here in this realm 1400 years past, in King *Lucius*'s days, the first Christian King of this realm, by whose humble letters, sent to Pope *Eleutherius*, he sent to this realm two holy monks, the one called *Damianus*, and the other *Fugatius*; and they, as ambassadors sent from the See Apostolic of *Rome*, did bring into this realm, so many years past, the very same religion whereof we are now in possession, and in the *Latin* tongue, as the ancient historiographer *Gildas* witnesseth, in the prologue and beginning of his Book of the *Britain*-History. And the same religion, so long ago begun, hath had this long continuance ever since, here in this realm, and not only of

the inhabitants thereof, but also generally of *all Christian men*, and in *all places* of Christendom, until the late days of King *Edward the Sixth*, as is aforesaid. Whereby it appeareth unto all men that list to know, how that by this rule and lesson the ancient religion and manner of serving God (whereof we are already in possession) is the very true and perfect religion, and of God.

"Touching the second rule and lesson of trial-making and probation, whether of both these religions is the better, and most worthy of observance here in this realm, is this, that your Honours must observe which of both these is the most stayed religion, and always one, and agreeable with itself. And that the new religion, here now to be set forth in this book, is no stayed religion, nor always one, nor agreeable with itself, who seeth it not; when in the late practice thereof in King *Edward the Sixth*'s days, how *changeable*, and how *variable* was it *in* and *to* itself? Every other year having a new *book* devised thereof, and every *book* set forth, as they professed, according to the sincere word of God; yet never any one of them agreeing in all points with the other. The first *book* affirming the *seven Sacraments*, and the *Real Presence* of *Christ*'s body in the *Holy Eucharist*; the other denying the same. The one *book* admitting the *Real Presence* of *Christ*'s body in the said Sacrament, to be received *in one kind*, with kneeling down, and great reverence done unto it, and that in *unleavened* bread; and the other book would have the communion received *in both kinds*, and in loaf-bread, without any reverence, but only unto the body of *Christ* in heaven. But the thing most worthy to be observed of your Honours is, how that very book made a shew to be set forth according to the sincere word of God, and yet not one of them did agree with another. And what marvel, I pray you, when the authors and devisors of the same books could not agree amongst themselves, nor any one of them might be found that did long agree with himself. And for the proof thereof I shall first begin with *German* writers, the chief schoolmasters and instructors of our countrymen in these novelties.

"I have read in an epistle, which *Philip Melancthon* did write unto one *Frederico Miconino*, how that one *Carolostadius* was the first mover and beginner of the late sedition in *Germany*, touching the Sacrament of the Altar, and the denying of *Christ*'s Real Presence in the same. And when he should come to interpret those words of our Saviour *Christ*, '*Accepit panem, benedixit, fregit, deditque Dis-*

cipulis suis, dicens, Accipite et comedite, Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro Vobis tradetur: Digito, inquit ille, monstravit visibile corpus suum.' By which interpretation of *Carolostadius*, *Christ* should with one hand give unto his Disciples bread to eat, and with the other hand point unto his *visible body* that was there present, and say, '*This is my body, which shall be betrayed for you.*' *Martin Luther*, much offended with this foolish exposition made by *Carolostadius* of the words of *Christ*, *Hoc est corpus meum* [This is my body], he giveth another sense; and (saith that *German*) '*Sensus verborum Christi*, [the meaning of *Christ*'s words], was this: *Per hunc panem, vel, cum isto pane, En! do vobis corpus meum.* [By, or with this bread, behold I give you my body.]' But *Zuinglius* finding much fault with the interpretation of *Martin Luther*, writes, that *Luther* therein was much deceived, and how that, in these words of *Christ*, *Hoc est corpus meum*, [This is my body], the verb substantive *est* [is] must be taken for *significat*, [signifies, or representeth], and this word *corpus* [body] must be taken *pro figura corporis* [for the figure, or representation of his body.] So that the sense of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, [This is my body], by *Zuinglius*'s supposal, is, *Hoc significat corpus meum, vel, est figura corporis mei*, [this signifies my body, *or*, this is a figure, or representation of my body.' *Peter Martyr* being of late here in this realm, in his book by him set forth, of the disputation which he had in *Oxford*, with the learned students there, of this matter, giveth another sense of these words of *Christ*, contrary to all the rest, and there saith thus: '*Quod Christus accipiens panem, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens, Hoc est corpus meum, quasi diceret, corpus meum per fidem perceptum, erit vobis pro pane, vel instar panis:* whose sense in *English* is this: That *Christ*'s body, received by faith, shall be unto you as bread, or instead of bread.'

" But here to cease any further to speak of these *German* writers, I shall draw nearer home; as, unto Dr. *Cranmer*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury* in this realm: how contrary was he to himself in this matter? When in one year he did set forth a Catechism in the *English* tongue, and did dedicate the same unto King *Edward the Sixth*, wherein he doth constantly affirm and defend the *Real Presence* of *Christ*'s body in the Holy Eucharist; and very shortly after, he did set forth another book, wherein he did most shamefully deny the same, falsifying both the Scriptures and Doctors, to the no small admiration of all the learned readers. D. *Rid-*

ley, the most learned of that religion in this realm, did set forth at *Paul*'s Cross the *Real Presence* of *Christ*'s body in the sacrament, with these words, which I heard, being there present: 'How that the Devil did believe the Son of God was able to make stones bread; and we *English* people, which do confess that *Jesus Christ* was the very Son of God, yet will not believe that he did make of bread his very body, flesh, and blood. Therefore we are worse than the Devil; seeing that our Saviour *Christ*, by express words, most plainly affirmed the same, when at the last supper he took bread, and said unto his disciples, Take ye, eat, *this is my body, which shall be given for you.*' And shortly after, the said Dr. *Ridley*, notwithstanding this most plain and open declaration at *Paul*'s Cross, did deny the same. And in the last book that D. *Cranmer* and his accomplices did set forth, of the *Communion*, in King *Edward the Sixth*'s days, these plain words of *Christ*, *Hoc est corpus meum*, [This is my body], did so incumber them, and trouble their wits, that they did leave out, in the same last book, this verb substantive, *est* [is], and made the sense of *Christ*'s words to be there Englished, *Take, eat this my body.* Which thing being espied by others, and great fault found withal, then they were fain to patch up the matter with a little piece of paper clapt over the aforesaid words, wherein was written this verb substantive, *est* [is]. Now, since the dealings of both the *German* and *English* writers in this matter, are so *variable* and uncertain, and one of them so much against another, your Honours may be well assured that this religion, which by them is set forth, can be no constant, no stayed religion; and therefore of your Honours not to be received; but great wisdom it were, for your Honours to refuse the same, until you shall perceive better agreement amongst the authors and setters forth of the same.

"Touching the third and last rule of trial-making and putting off difference between these religions, it is to be considered of your Honours, which of them both doth breed more obedient, more humble, and better subjects. First and chiefly, unto our Saviour and Redeemer. Secondly, unto our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highness, and to all other superiors. And for some trial and probation thereof, I shall desire your Honours to consider the sudden mutation of the subjects of this realm since the death of good Queen *Mary*, only caused in them by the preachers of this new religion. When in Queen *Mary*'s days, your Honours do

know right well, how the people of this realm did live in order, and would not run before the laws, nor openly disobey the Queen's Highness's proceedings and proclamations. There was no spoiling of Churches, no pulling down of altars, and most blasphemously treading of sacraments under their feet, and hanging up *the Knave of Clubs* in the place thereof. There was no scotching, [hacking] nor cutting of the faces and legs of the crucifix and images of *Christ*. There was no open flesh-eating nor shambles-keeping in *Lent*, and days prohibited. The subjects of this realm, and especially the Nobility, and such as were of the Honourable Council, did, in Queen *Mary*'s days, know the way to churches and chapels, there to begin their day's work with calling for help and grace, by humble prayers and serving God. And now, since the coming and reign of our most Sovereign and dear Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, only by the preachers and scaffold-players of this new religion, all things are turned upside down, and notwithstanding the Queen's Majesty's Proclamations, most godly made to the contrary, and her virtuous example of living, sufficient to move the hearts of all obedient subjects to the due service and honour of God. But obedience is gone, humility and meekness clear abolished, virtuous chastity and strict living renounced, as though they had never been heard of in this realm; all degrees and kinds being desirous of fleshly and carnal liberty; whereby the young springals and children are degenerated from their fathers, the servants contemptors of their master's commandments, the subjects disobedient to God, and to all superior powers.

"And therefore, honourable and my very good Lords, of my part, to administer some occasion unto your Honours to expel, and put out of this realm this new religion, whose *fruits* are so manifestly known to be as I have represented, and to persuade your Honours to avoid it, as much as in me lieth, and to persevere and continue steadfastly in the same religion whereof you are in possession, and have already made profession of the same unto God; I shall rehearse unto your Honours four things, whereby the holy Doctor S *Augustine* was settled in the Catholic Church and Religion of *Christ*, which he had received, and would by no means change nor alter from the same. The first of these four things was, '*Ipsa Authoritas Ecclesiæ Christi, miraculis inchoata, spe nutrita, charitate aucta, vetustate firmata*: [*i. e.* The Authority of the Church of *Christ*, founded upon miracles, subsisted by the hope of immortality, increased

by benevolent principles and practice, and strengthened by length of time.]' The second thing was ; '*Populi Christiani consensus et unitas :* [The consent and unity of all Christendom.]' The third thing was : '*Perpetua Sacerdotum Successio in Sede Petri :* [An uninterrupted Succession of Bishops in *Peter*'s Chair.]' The fourth and last thing was : '*Ipsum Catholicæ nomen :* [The very name of Catholic.]' Now if these four things did cause so notable and learned a divine, as S. *Augustine* was, to continue in his professed religion of *Christ*, without any change or alteration, how much then ought these four points to work the like effect in your hearts, and prevail with you, not to forsake your professed religion ? First, because it hath the authority of *Christ*. Secondly, because it hath the consent and agreement of Christian people. Thirdly, because it hath the confirmation of all *Peter*'s successors in the See Apostolic. Fourthly, it hath *Ipsum Catholicæ nomen*, and is and hath been, in all times and places, *The Catholic Religion*.

" Thus bold have I been, to trouble your Honours with so tedious and long an oration for the discharging, as I said before, of my duty, first unto God, secondly unto our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Highness, thirdly and lastly, unto your Honours, and all other subjects of this realm ; most humbly beseeching your Honours to take in good part, and to be spoke of me, for the only causes above said, and for none other."

Thus spoke our learned Abbot, who, because he was the last of his Order that ever sat in an *English* Parliament, and one besides, that makes no small figure in the Ecclesiastical History of *Great-Britain*, we presume it may not be unacceptable to the reader, to be made a little better acquainted with his character and merit ; and with this view we have subjoined

Some Account of D. Feckenham, *the last Abbot of* Westminster *Abbey.*

Mr. *Fuller*, with his usual pedantry, introduces his account of this great man, with telling us, " He was a *landmark* in history. His personal experience being a *chronicle*; who, like the *axle-tree*, stood firm and fixed in his judgment ; while the times, like the *wheels*, turned backwards and forwards round about him." [*Ful. Ch. Hist.* B. IX. p. 359] But dismissing these mechanical comparisons, we

beg leave to inform our reader, and to tell him in plain *English*, that

D. *John Howman* (for that was his true name) assumed the surname of *Feckenham* (or *Feckham*, as some contract it) from the forest of *Feckenham*, in *Worcestershire*, where he was born, of a family not very considerable in that county. But the lowness of his birth was abundantly compensated by a noble and exalted genius for learning and virtue; and his extraordinary qualifications recommending him very powerfully to the Monks of *Evesham*, of the Order of S. *Benedict*, they made no difficulty of receiving him, very young, into their Monastery. At 18 years of age he was sent to *Oxford*, where having provided himself with a large stock of academical learning, he was called home, to be employed in teaching the young religious of his Order at *Evesham*. Upon the dissolution of that noble Monastery by K. *Henry* VIII. Mr. *Feckenham* revisited *Oxford*, and having taken the degree of Doctor of Divinity, became Chaplain to D. *John Bell*, Bp. of *Worcester*; and this Prelate dying in 1539, he assisted D. *Bonner*, Bp. of *London*, in the same capacity. "He never dissembled his religion," says my author, "being a zealous Papist, and suffered much for his conscience under King *Edward the Sixth*." [*Fuller ubi sup.*]

In this reign, *Bonner* being deprived of his Bishoprick, both Bishop and Chaplain were committed close prisoners, (*Bonner* to the *Marshalsea*, and *Feckenham* to the *Tower*) by order of Archbishop *Cranmer*, for defending the religion of their ancestors, from which *Cranmer* had now publicly revolted. And in this confinement they both continued, till Queen *Mary* mounted the throne.

Upon this turn of affairs, *Bonner* was restored to his pristine honours, and *Feckenham* being called to court, was made one of the Queen's Chaplains, and Dean of St. *Paul*'s. Soon after, Queen *Mary* refounded *Westminster* Abbey, of which D. *Heylin* gives us the following account.

"The Abbey of *Westminster* had been founded for a Convent of *Benedictine* Monks by King *Edward the Confessor*, valued at the suppression by K. *Henry* VIII. at the yearly sum of *L.* 3977, in good old rents, *anno* 1539. At which time, having taken to himself the best and greatest part of the lands thereof, he founded with the rest a Collegiate Church, consisting of a Dean and Secular Canons. But now the Queen [*Mary*] put into it a Convent of *Bene-*

dictines, consisting of an Abbot and 14 Monks."—*Heyl.* H. R. Q. M.

Over these 14 Monks, *which* (continues our Author) *were as many as the lands left upon it could well maintain*, D. *Feckenham* was appointed the chief Officer, or Abbot; which dignity he sustained with great repute both as to piety and learning. His mildness and moderation are much applauded by our historians; and, in particular, Mr. *Fuller* assures us, that "in the reign of Queen *Mary* he was wholly employed in doing good offices for the Protestants, from the highest to the lowest."—Amongst these *high ones* are reckoned Sir *John Cheek*, the Earls of *Bedford* and *Leicester*, and the Princess *Elizabeth*, who (as *Sleidan*, a cotemporary and Protestant Historian relates, "was committed to the Tower, because she was suspected to have had a hand in *Wyat*'s rebellion." All these (to make use of Mr. *Fuller*'s expression) *tasted of his kindness*. "And he interposed so far," says Mr. *Collier*, "with Queen *Mary*, for the enlargement of her sister *Elizabeth*, that he suffered in his interest at court." Yet all these obligations were not only buried in oblivion, but most ungratefully repaid with very severe treatment; Abbot *Feckenham*, upon his refusing the *Oath of Supremacy*, being hurried from prison to prison the rest of his life.—*Fuller ubi sup.*—*Sleidan*'s *Reformation*, B. XXV. p. 598.—*Collier*'s *Eccl. Hist.* B. VIII. p. 596.

The first prison *Eliabeth* sent him to was the Tower, from whence he was removed to the custody of *Horn*, Bp. of *Winchester*, by whom being ruggedly used, he was remanded back to the Tower, and from thence to the *Marshalsea*; but this place being prejudicial to his health, he was indulged the convenience of a lodging in *Holborn* for a while. At last the good Abbot was confined to *Wisbich* Castle, where, after a tedious imprisonment of three and twenty years, he died *a venerable confessor*, *anno* 1585. Of the many works which he wrote, the greatest part perished, by reason of his confinement. The titles of those few that have escaped are: *A Funeral Sermon at the Obsequies of Queen* Mary. *A Speech in Parliament against the Oath of Supremacy. Of the Eucharist, against* Hooper. *Commentaries on* David's *Psalms.*

Bishop *Scot*'s Speech against the New Liturgy.

This is the second speech made by this learned Prelate against the reforming measures of Queen *Elizabeth* and her

court. In the first (which for brevity's sake we have omitted*), he seconded Archbishop *Heath* in opposing the Queen's *Supremacy;* and in this he seconds D. *Feckenham* against the New Liturgy, or *Common-Prayer-Book.* Upon which subject he thus delivers his sentiments.

" My Lords,

" This Bill, that hath been here read now the third time, doth appear unto me to be such a one, that it is much to be lamented it should be suffered, either to be read, or any ear to be given unto it of Christian men, and much less of this Honourable Assembly. For it doth not only call in question and doubt those things which we ought to reverence without any doubt-moving, but it maketh further earnest request for alterance, yea, for the clear abolishing of the same. And that this may the more evidently appear, I shall desire your Lordships to consider, that our religion, as it was here of late, discreetly, godly, and learnedly declared, doth consist, partly in inward things, as in faith, hope, and charity, and partly in outward things, as in common prayers, and the holy sacraments uniformly administered.

" Now, as concerning these outward things, this Bill doth clearly extinguish them, setting in their places *I cannot tell what.* And the inward it doth also so shake, that it leaveth them very bare and feeble.

" For first, by this Bill *Christian* Charity is taken away, and the *Unity* of *Christ*'s Church is broken. For it is said, '*Nunquam relinquunt Unitatem, qui non prius omittunt Charitatem* : [By breaking the Unity of the Church, Charity is lost]' : and S. *Paul* saith, that Charity is *vinculum perfectionis,* the bond or chain of perfection, wherewith we are knit and joined together in one. Which bond being loosened, we must needs fall one from another, into divers parties and sects, as we see we do at this present. And as touching our *Faith,* it is evident that divers of the articles and mysteries thereof are also not only called into doubt, but partly openly, and partly obscurely, and yet in very deed, as the other, flatly denied. Now these two, I mean *Faith* and *Charity,* being in this case, *Hope* is either left alone, or else *Presumption* set in her place ; whereupon, for the most part, *Desperation* doth follow : from the which I pray God preserve all men !

" Wherefore these matters mentioned in this Bill, where-

* See it in *Parliamentary Hist. of Eng.* Vol. III. p. 389, etc.

in our whole Religion consisteth, we ought, I say, to reverence, and not to call in question For as a learned man writeth: '*Quæ patefacta sunt quærere, quæ perfecta sunt retractare, et quæ definita sunt convellere, quid aliud est, quam de adeptis gratiam non referre?*' That is to say, 'To seek after things which be manifestly open, to retouch, or retract things made perfect, and to unsettle matters defined, what is it, less than the sin of ingratitude for favours already received?'—Likewise saith holy *Athanasius:* '*Quæ nunc à tot et talibus Episcopis probata sunt ac decreta, clarèque demonstrata, supervacuum est denuò revocare in judicium*: [It is quite a superfluous thing, to bring to a rehearing matters that have been tried, decreed, and manifestly declared, by so many and such Bishops!]' (meaning the Prelates assembled at the Council of *Nice.*) 'For no man will deny,' saith he, 'but if they new examined again, and again new judged, and after that examined again and again, this curiosity will never come to an end. And it is said, in *Ecclesiastica Historia*: *Si quotidie licebit fidem in quæstionem vocare, de fide nunquam constabit:*—If it may be lawful every day to call our faith in question, we shall never have any certainty of our faith.' Now, if *Athanasius* did think that no man ought to doubt of matters determined in the Council of *Nice*, where were present three hundred and eighteen Bishops; how much less ought we to doubt of matters determined and practised in the holy Catholic Church of *Christ* by three hundred thousand Bishops, and how many more we cannot tell.

"And as for the certainty of our faith, whereof the history of the Church doth speak, it is a thing of all others the most necessary; and if it shall hang upon an *Act of Parliament*, we have but a weak staff to lean upon. And yet I shall desire your Lordships, not to take me here as speaking in derogation of the Parliament, which I acknowledge to be of great strength in matters whereunto it extendeth. But for matters in religion, I do not think that it ought to meddle; partly for the certainty which ought to be in our faith and religion, and the uncertainty of the Statutes and Acts of Parliament. For we see that oftentimes, that which is established by Parliament one year, is abrogated the next year following, and the contrary allowed. And we see also, that one King disalloweth the statutes made under the other. But our Faith and Religion ought to be most certain, and One in all things, and in no condition wavering. For, as *S. James* saith, *He that doubteth or staggereth in his faith,*

is like the waves of the sea, and shall obtain nothing at the hands of God. And partly for that the Parliament consisteth, for the most part, of noblemen of this realm, and certain of the commons, being lay and temporal men, which, altho' they be both of good wisdom and learning, yet not so studied, nor exercised in the scriptures and the holy doctors and practices of the Church, as to be competent judges in *such matters.* Neither doth it appertain to their vocation: yea, and that by your Lordships own judgment; as may well be gathered from one fact, which I remember was done this parliament time, and was this.

"There was a nobleman's son arrested and committed unto ward; which matter being opened here unto your Lordships, was thought to be an injury to this House. Whereupon, as well the young Gentleman, as the Officer that did arrest him, and the party by whose means he was arrested, were all sent for, and commanded to appear before your Lordships; which was done accordingly. Yet, before the parties were suffered to come into the House, it was thought expedient to have the whole matter considered, lest this House should intermeddle with matters not pertaining unto it. In treating whereof there were found three points. First, there was a *doubt,* and that your Lordships did remit to the *common law;* the second was a *fraud,* which was referred to the *Chancery*: because neither of both did appertain unto this Court. And the third was the *arrest* and committing to ward of the same gentleman; wherein this House took order. Now if that, by your Lordship's own judgment, the Parliament hath no authority to meddle with matters of *common law,* which is grounded upon common reason; neither with the *Chancery,* which is grounded upon considerance (both which things be naturally given unto men) then much less may it intermeddle with matters of *Faith* and *Religion,* far surpassing reason and the judgment of men.

"And such are the contents of this Bill; wherein three things are specially to be considered. First, the weightiness of the matter. Then, the darkness of the cause, and the difficulty of trying out the truth. And thirdly, the danger and peril which must ensue if we take the wrong way.

"Concerning the first, that is, the *weightiness* of the matter contained in this Bill, it is very great. For it is no money matter, but a matter of inheritance: yea, a matter touching life and death, and damnation dependeth upon it.

Here is set before us, as the scripture saith, life and death, fire and water. If we put our hand unto the one, we shall live; if we take hold of the other, we shall die. Now, to judge these matters here propounded, and discern which is life, and which is death; which is fire that will burn us, and which is water that will refresh and comfort us, is a great matter, and not easily perceived of every man. Moreover, there is another thing here to be considered; and that is, that we do not unadvisedly condemn our forefathers and their doings; both which things the scripture forbiddeth. This we know, that this doctrine and form of religion, which this Bill propoundeth to be abolished and taken away, is that which our forefathers were born, brought up, and lived in; and have professed here in this realm for the space of nine hundred years and more; and hath also been professed and practised in the Universal Church of *Christ*, since the Apostles' time. And that which we go about to establish and place for it, is lately brought in, allowed no where, nor put in practice, but in this realm only; and that but a small time, and against the minds of all Catholic men. Now, if we do but consider the *antiquity* of the one, and the *newness* of the other, we shall have just reason to have *the one* in estimation, for the long continuance thereof, till such time as we see evident cause why we should revoke it, seeing that our forefathers never heard of *the other*.

"But now I do call to remembrance, that I did hear yesterday a Nobleman in this House say, making an answer to this, as it were by preoccupation, that our fathers lived in blindness, and that we have just occasion to lament their ignorance. Whereunto it may be answered, that if our fathers were here, and heard us lament their doings, it is very like they would say unto us, as our Saviour *Christ* said unto the women which followed him, and wept after him, '*Nolite flere super nos, sed super vos ipsos*:' *i. e.* Weep not over us for our blindness, but weep over yourselves, for your own presumption; in taking upon you so arrogantly to justify yourselves and your doings, and so rashly condemning us and our doings. Moreover, the Prophet doth teach a lesson clear contrary to the Nobleman's position. For he biddeth us, in doubtful matters, to go to our fathers, and learn the truth of them, in these words: '*Interroga Patrem tuum et annuntiabit tibi, majores tuos et dicent tibi*: Ask thy father and he will declare unto thee, thine ancestors and they will tell thee.' And (*Psal.* lxxvii.) '*Filii qui nascentur et exsurgent, narrabunt filiis suis, ut cognoscat gene-*

ratio altera : The children which shall be born and rise up, shall tell it unto their children, that it may be known from one generation to another.' Thus we are directed to learn of our fathers, and not to contemn their doings. Wherefore I conclude, as concerning this *part*, that this Bill, containing in it matter of great *weight* and importance, is to be deliberated on with great care and circumspection, and is to be examined, tried, and determined by men of great learning, virtue, and experience.

"And as this matter is great, and therefore not to be passed over hastily, but diligently to be examined, so it is dark, and of great *difficulty* to be plainly discussed, as that the truth may manifestly appear. For here be, as I have said, *Two Books of Religion* propounded ; the one to be abolished, as erroneous and wicked, and the other to be established, as godly and consonant to the scripture. And they be both concerning one matter ; that is, *The true Administration of the Sacraments,* according to the institution of our Saviour *Christ.* In the which administretion, there be three things to be considered. The first is, the institution of our Saviour *Christ,* for the *matter* and substance of the sacraments. The second is, the ordinances of the Apostles for the *form* of the sacraments. And the third is, the additions of the Holy Fathers, for the adorning and perfecting the *administration* of the sacraments. Which three things be all duly, as we see, observed ; and that of necessity, in this book of the *Mass,* and old service ; as all men do know which understand it. The other Book, which is so much extolled, doth, *ex professo,* take away two of these three things, and, in very deed, maketh the third a thing insignificant. For, first, as concerning the additions of the Faters, as, in the Mass, the *Confiteor. Misereatur, Kyrie eleison, Sequentes preces, Sanctus, Agnus Dei,* with such other things : and also the Ordinances of the Apostles, blessings, crossings, and in the administration of divers of the sacraments, exsufflations, exorcisms, inunctions, praying towards the east, invocation of saints, prayer for the dead, with such other, this Book taketh away, either in part, or else clearly, as things not allowable. And yet do the fautors thereof contend that it is most perfect, according to *Christ*'s institution, and the order of the Primitive Church. But to let the Ordinances of the Apostles, and the additions of the Fathers pass (which notwithstanding we ought greatly to esteem and reverence) let us come to the institution of our Saviour *Christ,* whereof they talk so

much, and examine, whether of the two Books comes nearest unto it. And to make things plain, we will take, for example, the *Mass*, or, as they call it, *The Supper of the Lord*, wherein our Saviour *Christ* (as the holy Fathers do gather from the scriptures) did institute three things, which he commanded to be done in remembrance of his death and passion unto his coming again, saying, '*Hoc facite*, &c. Do this, &c.' Whereof the first is, the *consecrating* of the blessed body and blood of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*. The second is, the *offering up* of the same to God the Father. And the third is, the *communicating*, that is, the eating and drinking of the said blessed body and blood under the forms of bread and wine. And as concerning the two first, S. *Chrysostome* saith thus: '*Volo quiddam edicere planè mirabile, et nolite mirari, neque turbamini*, &c.: I will declare unto you in very deed a marvellous thing, but marvel not at it, nor be troubled. Whether *Peter* or *Paul*, or a priest of any desert do offer, it is the very same which *Christ* gave to his Disciples, and which priests do make, or consecrate, at this time. This hath nothing less than that. Why so? Because men do not sanctify This, but *Christ*, which did sanctify that before. For like as the words which *Christ* did speak, be the very same which the priests do now pronounce, so it is the very same *oblation*.' These be the words of S. *Chrysostome*; wherein he testifieth, as well the *oblation* and sacrifice of the body and blood of our Saviour *Christ*, to be offered unto God the Father in the *Mass*, as also the *consecrating* of the same by the Priests. Which two be both taken away by this Book, as the authors thereof do willingly acknowledge, crying out against the offering of *Christ* oftener than once, notwithstanding that all the holy Fathers do teach it; manifestly affirming *Christ* to be offered daily after an unbloody manner. But if these men did understand and consider what doth ensue and follow from this their affirmation, I think they would leave their rashness, and return to the truth again. For if it be true what they say, that there is no external sacrifice in the New Testament, then doth it follow, that there is no Priesthood under the same, whose office is, saith S. *Paul*, *to offer up gifts and sacrifices for sin*. And if there be no Priesthood, then there is no Religion under the New Testament. And if we have no Religion, then we be *sine Deo in hoc mundo*; that is, *without God in this world*. For one of these doth necessarily depend and follow upon the other; and if we take away one, we take away all.

" Note (I beseech your Lordships) the end of these men's doctrine; that is, to set us without God. And the like opinion they hold touching the *consecration;* having nothing in their mouths but the *holy communion,* which, after the order of this Book, is holy in words only, and not in deed. For the thing is not there which should make it holy; I mean, the body and blood of *Christ,* as may thus appear. It may justly indeed be called the *holy communion,* if it be ministered truly, and according as it ought to be; for then we receive *Christ*'s holy body and blood into our bodies, and be joined in one with him, like two pieces of wax, which being melted and put together, be made one. Which similitude SS. *Cyril* and *Chrysostome* do use in this matter. And S. *Paul* saith, that *We be made his bones and flesh.* But by order of this Book, this is not done. For *Christ*'s body is not there in very deed to be received. For the only way whereby it is present, is by *consecration,* which this Book hath not at all. Neither doth it observe the *form* prescribed by *Christ,* nor follow the manner of the Church. The Evangelists declare, that our Saviour took bread into his hands, and blest, broke, and gave to his Disciples, saying, *Take and eat, this is my body which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me.* By these words, *do this,* we be commanded to take bread into our hands, to bless it, break it, and, with regard to the bread, to pronounce the words spoken by our Saviour; that is, '*Hoc est corpus meum:* [This is my body.]' *By which words,* saith S. *Chrysostome, the bread is consecrated.* Now, by the order of this Book, neither doth the Priest take bread in his hands, bless it, nor break it; neither yet hath any regard or respect to the bread, when he rehearseth the words of *Christ,* but doth pass them over, as if he were telling a tale, or rehearsing a story. Moreover, whereas by the opinions of good writers, there is required, yea, and that of necessity, a full *intention* to do that which *Christ* did; that is, to consecrate his body and blood, with other things following: wherefore the Church hath appointed in the *Mass* certain prayers to be said by the Priest before the *consecration,* in the which words be, '*Ut nobis fiat corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi:*' that is, the prayer is to this end, 'That the creatures may be made unto us the body and blood of our Lord *Jesus Christ.*' Here is declared the *intention,* as well of the Church, as also of the Priest which saith *Mass.* But as for this new Book, there is no such thing mentioned in it, that doth either declare any such *intention,* or make any

such request unto God, but rather the contrary. As doth appear by the request there made, in these words, *That we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine*, &c. which words declare, that they intend no *consecration* at all. And then let them glory as much as they will in their *communion*, it is to no purpose; seeing that the body of *Christ* is not there, which, as I have said, is the very thing that should be communicated.

"There did yesterday a Nobleman in this House say, that he did believe that *Christ* is there received in the communion set out in this Book; and being asked if he did worship him there, he said No: nor ever would so long as he lived. Which is a strange opinion, that *Christ* should be any where, and not worshipped. They say they will worship him in heaven, but not in the sacrament; which is much the same as if a man should say, that when the Emperor sitteth under his cloth of state, princely apparelled, he is to be honoured; but if he come abroad in a frize coat, he is not to be honoured: and yet he is all one Emperor, in cloth of gold under his canopy of state, and in a frize coat abroad in the street. As it is one *Christ* in heaven, in the form of man, and in the sacrament under the form of bread and wine; the scripture, as S. *Augustine* doth interpret it, commandeth us to worship the body of our Saviour; yea, and that in the sacrament, in these words: '*Adorate scabellum pedum ejus, quoniam sanctum est*: Worship his footstool, for it is holy.' Upon which place S. *Augustine* writeth thus: '*Christ* took flesh of the Blessed Virgin his Mother, and in the same did walk, and the same flesh he gave us to eat unto health; but no man will eat that flesh, except he worship it before. So it is found out, how we shall worship his footstool, &c. We shall not only not sin in worshipping, but we shall sin in not worshipping.' Thus far S. *Augustine*. But as concerning this, if we would consider all things well, we shall see the provision of God marvellous in it. For he provideth so, that the very heretics and enemies of the truth be compelled to confess the truth in this behalf. For the *Lutherans* writing against the *Zuinglians*, do prove, that the true natural body of our Saviour *Christ* is in the sacrament. And the *Zuinglians* against the *Lutheraus* do prove, that then it must needs be worshipped there. And thus in their contention doth the truth burst out, whether they will or no. Wherefore, in my opinion, of these two errors, the fonder is to say, that *Christ* is in the sacrament, and yet not to be worshipped, than to say he is not there at all. For either they do think

that he is there but only in imagination and fancy, and so not in very deed; or else they be *Nestorians*, and think that here is his body only, and not his divinity; which is both devilish and wicked.

"Now, my Lords, consider, I beseech you, the matters here in variance, whether your Lordships be able to discuss them according to learning, so as the truth may appear, or no. That is, whether the body of Christ be, by this new Book, consecrated, offered, adored, and truly communicated, or no. And whether these things be required necessarily, by the institution of our Saviour *Christ*, or no. And whether Book goeth nearer the truth. These matters, my Lords, be, as I have said, weighty and dark, and not easy to be discussed. And thus likewise your Lordships may think of the rest of the sacraments, which be either clearly taken away, or else mangled after the same sort, by this *New Book*.

"The third thing here to be considered is, the great danger and peril that doth hang over your heads, if you take upon you to be judges in these matters, and judge wrong; bringing both yourselves and others from the truth unto untruth, from the highway unto by-paths. It is dangerous enough, God knows, for a man to err himself, but it is more dangerous, not only to err himself, but also to lead other men into error. It is said in the Scripture of King *Jeroboam*, that '*Peccavit, et peccare fecit Israël, i. e.* He did sin himself, and caused *Israel* to sin.' Take heed, my Lords, the like be not said of you. If you pass this Bill, you shall not only, in my judgment, err yourselves, but shall also be the authors and causers that the whole realm shall err after you. For which you must give an account to God.

"Those that have read Church History, and know the method and order of the Church, in discussing controversies in matters of religion, can testify, that they have been discussed and determined, in all times, by the Clergy only, and never by the Temporality. The heresy of *Arius*, which troubled the Church in the Time of *Constantine the Great*, was condemned in the Council of *Nice*. The heresy of *Eutyches* in the Council of *Chalcedon*, under *Marcian*. The heresy of *Macedonius*, in the first Council of *Constantinople*, in the time of *Theodosius*. The heresy of *Nestorius*, in that of *Ephesus*, in the time of *Theodosius the Younger*. And yet did never any of these good Emperors assemble their Nobility and Commons, for the discussing and determining

of these controversies; neither asked their minds [or opinions] in them, or went by number of votes or polls, to determine the truth; as is done here in this realm at this time. We may come lower, to the third Council of *Toledo*, in *Spain*, in the time of *Riccaredus*; and to a Council in *France* about 800 years ago, in the reign of *Carolus Magnus*: which both following the order of the Church, by licence had of the Pope, did procure the Clergy of their realms to be gathered and assembled, for reforming of certain errors and enormities within their said realms; whereunto they never called their Nobility or Commons. Neither did any of them take upon themselves either to reason or dispute, in discussing of the controversies; nor to determine them being discussed; but left the whole to the discussing and determining of the Clergy. And no marvel if these, with other Catholic Princes, used this method. For the Emperors that were heretics, did never reserve any such matter to the judgment of temporal men: as may appear to them that read the stories of *Constantius*, *Valens*, &c. who procured divers assemblies, but always of the Clergy, for the establishing of *Arius*'s doctrine: and of *Zeno* the Emperor, which did the like for *Eutyches*'s doctrine; with many others of that sort. Yea, it doth appear in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that an infidel would take no such matter upon him. The story is this: S. *Paul* having continued at *Corinth* one year and a half in preaching the gospel, certain wicked persons did rise against him, and brought him before the Vice-Consul, called *Gallio*, laying unto his charge, that *He taught the people to worship God contrary to their law.* Unto whom the Vice-Consul answered thus: '*Si quidem esset iniquum aliquid, aut facinus pessimum, O vos* Judæi, *rectè vos sustinerem; si vero quæstiones sint de verbo, et nominibus legis vestræ, vos ipsi videritis: ego judex horum esse nolo:* If it were any matter of injustice, or a heinous crime, O ye *Jews*, I might justly have heard you; but if it be concerning questions and doubts of the words and matters of your law, (that is to say, if it be touching your religion) look ye to it. I will not be judge in these matters.' Mark, my Lords, this short discourse, I beseech your Lordships, and you shall perceive, that all Catholic Princes, Heretic Princes, yea and infidels, have from time to time refused to take that upon them, which your Lordships go about, and challenge to do.

" But now, because I have been long, I will make an end of this matter, with the saying of two noble Emperors

on the like occasions. The first is *Theodosius:* '*Illicitum est, eum qui non sit ex Ordine sanctorum Episcoporum, Ecclesiasticis se immiscere tractatibus:* It is not lawful for him that is not in the Order (or rank) of holy Bishops, to interpose in religious affairs.' So the Emperor *Valentinian,* being desired to assemble certain Bishops together, for the examination of a point of doctrine, said: '*Mihi qui in sorte sum plebis, fas non est talia curiosius scrutari. Sacerdotes, quibus ista curæ sunt, inter seipsos, quocunque loco voluerint, conveniant:* It is not lawful for me, who am but a layman, to search over-curiously into such matters. Let the Priests, to whom this business belongs, meet about it, wherever they please.' But to conclude: if these Emperors had nothing to do in these matters, have not your Lordships as little to do with them? And thus desiring your Lordships to consider, and take in good part the few things that I have spoken, I make an end.' *Strype*'s *Annals,* quoted in *Parl. Hist. Eng.* Vol. III. p.389. Of this learned, &c. as p. 314.

No. VI.

An Abstract *of King* Henry the Eighth's Injunctions *to his Clergy. They were published in* 1539, An. Reg. 28, *and contain in substance:*

" 1. That all Ecclesiastical Incumbents were, for a quarter of a year after the publication, once every Sunday, and after that twice every quarter, (Mr. *Collier* says, but twice a year) to publish to the people, that the Bishop of *Rome*'s usurped power had no ground in the law of God, and therefore was, on good reasons, abolished. And that the King's power was, by the laws of God, supreme over all persons in his dominions.

" 2. They were to declare the articles lately set forth, for the abrogation of some superfluous holy days.

" 3. They were to exhort the people to teach their children the *Lord's Prayer, Creed,* and *Ten Commandments,* in their mother tongue, and explain one clause or article every day till the people were instructed.

" 4. They were to take care that the sacraments and sacramentals be reverently administered in their parishes; and in their absence, to commit the care to a learned and expert curate.

" 5. They shall not, except on urgent occasions, go to taverns, or alehouses, nor give themselves, after meals, to drinking or riot, at tables or card-playing, or any other unlawful game, but at leisure hours read, or hear the Scriptures read, or some other honest exercise, and remember to give good example to others, to live well and christianly.

" 6. Every beneficed person that had twenty pounds or above, and did not reside, was yearly to distribute the fortieth part of his benefice to the poor of the parish.

" 7. Every incumbent that had an hundred pounds a year, must give an exhibition for one scholar at some grammar-school or university. And so many hundred pounds as any had, so many students he was to bring up.

" 8. Where churches, chapels, and mansions were in great decay, the incumbent was, every year, to give a fifth part of his profits to the repairing of them; the same, so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good condition.

" 9. All which and singular injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said incumbents, under pain of suspension, and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices, until they have done their duty according to these *injunctions.*"——*Burnet*'s *Hist. Ref.* Vol. I. Book III. p. 225.—See also the *Injunctions* at large, in his *Collection of Records*, No. VII.

No. VII.

A Taste of the Mala Dogmata.

MR. *Collier* presents us with a list of them in 59 articles; but in Mr. *Fuller*'s History they amount to 67. They are too numerous to be inserted here; and besides, are far from contributing any thing, either towards our edification or instruction. However, I shall venture to give the Reader a *taste* of them, only because Mr. *Fuller* assures us *they contain the Protestant Religion in ore.* Some of them, in short, are as follows.

" That Priests have no more authority to minister sacraments, than the Laymen have.

" That man hath no free will.

" That it is idolatry to make any oblations.

"That it is as lawful to christen a child in a tub of water at home, or in a ditch by the way, as in a font-stone in the Church.

"That it is neither necessary nor serviceable, to have churches or chapels for divine service."

[This *Protestant notion*, we presume, was instilled into the populace, to make them bear with less regret the loss and destruction of so many noble churches and elegant chapels, that were barbarously sacrificed to *revenge and avarice*, in this and the next reign.]

"That rich ornaments in churches are rather displeasing, than acceptable to God."

[This *Protestant Principle* was reduced to *practice* in King *Edward*'s reign, with a vengeance, when the Duke of *Somerset*, at the head of the *Zuinglian* faction, left not so much as a single church unplundered, or an altar unrifled, in all the dominions of *Great-Britain*.]

"That it is as lawful at all times to confess to a layman, as to a Priest.

"That Auricular Confession, Absolution, and Penance, are neither necessary nor beneficial.

"That Bishops, Ordinaries, and other Ecclesiastical Judges, have no authority to pronounce sentence of excommunication, or other censures.

"That there is no distinction of sin after this sort, sin to be venial, and sin to be mortal.

"That Our Lady was no better than another woman.

"That holy days ordained and instituted by the Church, are not to be observed and kept in reverence, inasmuch as all days and times be alike; and a man may go to plow and cart on those solemn festivals, as well as at any other time.

"That it is no sin or offence to eat flesh in *Lent*, and other fasting days commanded by the Church.

"That it is as lawful to eat flesh on *Good-Friday*, as upon *Easter-Day*.

"That it is sufficient and enough, to *believe*, though a man do no *good works* at all.

"That Prayers, Fasting, and Alms, are of no significancy to dispose God to forgiveness.

"That no human constitutions or laws do bind any Christian man, but such as be in the *New Testament;* and that a man may break them without any offence at all."—*Fuller's Chur. Hist.* Book V. p. 208, *et deinceps.*

And such is the precious *Ore* of the *Protestant Religion!* Upon which the canting Mr. *Fuller* subjoins the following remarkable elogy.

"Most of these tenets are true in themselves, grounded on God's Word, and, at this day, professed by Protestants."

But, in my humble opinion, there is nothing more *untrue*, than Mr. *Fuller*'s strange notion of these, or any one *of these tenets*, being *true in themselves!* Nothing more *untrue*, than his absurd supposition of their being *grounded on God's Word!* And if it be true, what he positively asserts, that *they* are, at this day, *professed by Protestants*, such Protestants, it may well be imagined, have more reason to be ashamed, than to boast of their *profession*.

No. VIII.

A short Abridgment of King Henry's Articles of Religion. *They are remarkably prefaced, and introduced with* "*The King's* Declaration."

"HENRY VIII. by the Grace of God, &c. &c. — Among other cures appertaining to this our princely office,..We have always esteemed and thought,..that it most chiefly belongs unto our said charge, diligently to foresee and cause,..that unity and concord in opinions..may increase and go forward.——For the which cause, we being of late, to our great regret, credibly advertised, of such diversities in opinions as have grown and sprungen in this our realm, ..have not only in our own person, at many times, taken great pain, study, labours, and travels, but have also caused our Bishops, and other the most discreet and learned of our Clergy, to be assembled in our convocation of the same. ——Which their determination, debatement, and agreement, forasmuch as *we think* to have proceeded of a good, right, and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the laws and ordinances of God,..We have caused the same to be published, willing, requiring, and commanding you to accept, repute, and take them accordingly.

"*The Sacrament of Penance.*

"We will that all our Bishoppes and Preachers shall in-

struct and teach our people committed *by Us* unto their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe, that that Sacrament was institute of *Christ* in the New Testament, as a thing so necessary for man's salvation, that no man which after his baptisme is fallen againe, and hath committed deadly sinne, can without the same be salved, or atteyne everlasting life, &c.

"*Auricular Confession and Absolution.*

"We will that all Bishopps and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed *by Us* unto their Spiritual Charge, that in no wise they do contemne this Auricular Confession, which is made unto the Ministers of the Church, but that they ought to repute the same as a very expedient and necessary meane, whereby they may require and ask this Absolution at the Prieste's hands, at such time as they shall find their conscience grieved with mortal sinnes, and have occasion so to do, to th' intent they may thereby attayne comfort and consolation of their consciences.

"Item, that they ought and must give no less faith and credance to the same words of Absolution so pronounced by the Ministers of the Church, than they would give unto the very same words and voice of God himself, if he should speak unto us out of heaven, according to the saying of Christ: '*Quorum remiseritis peccata*, &c. *Qui vos audit, me audit*, &c. [Whose sins you shall forgive, &c. He that hears you, hears me, &c.]'

"*The Real Presence.*

"We will that all Bishopps and Preachers instruct and teach our people committed *by Us* unto their Spiritual Charge, that they ought, and must constantly believe, that under the Form and Figure of Bread and Wine, which wee there *presently* see and perceave by our outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really conteyned and comprehended, the very same Body and Blood of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, which was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and suffered upon the Cross for our Redemption, &c.

"*Of Images.*

"We will that all Bishopps and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed *by Us* to their Spiritual Charge, how they ought and may use them; and first, there may be attributed unto them, that they be repre-

senters of vertue and good example ; and that they also be, by occasion, the kindlers and stirrers of men's minds, and make men to remember and lament their synnes and offences; and especially the images of *Christ* and our Lady ; and that therefore it is meet they should stand in the churches, &c.

"*Invocation of Saints.*

"We will that all Bishopps and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed *by Us* unto their Spiritual Charge, that it is very laudable to pray to Saints in Heaven everlastingly liveing, whose charity is ever permanent, to be Intercessors, and to pray for us and with us to Almighty God, after this manner: 'All holy Angels and Saints in Heaven, pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for his deare Son *Jesus Christ*'s sake, wee may have grace of him and remission of our synnes, with an earnest purpose ; not wanting ghostly strength to observe and keep his holy commandments ; and never decline from the same againe unto our lives end.' And in this manner wee may pray unto our Blessed Lady, to Saint *John Baptist*, to all and every of the Apostles, or any other Saint particularly, as our Devotion doth move us, &c.

"*Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead.*

"For as much as due order of charity requireth, and the Book of *Maccabees*, and divers ancient Doctors plainly shew, that it is a very good and charitable deed, to pray for souls departed ; for as much also as such usage hath continued in the Church so many years, even from the beginning, Wee will that all Bishopps and Preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed *by Us* unto their Spiritual charge, that no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the same : and that it standeth with the very due order of Charity, a Christian man to pray for souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy ; and also to cause other to pray for them in Masses and Exequies, and to give Alms to other to pray for them; *whereby they may the sooner obteyne the mercy of God and the fruition of his glory*, &c."—*Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. Book II. p. 122, *et deinceps.*

And such were the *Articles* which the King commanded his *Bishops*, his *Preachers*, and his *People* to receive, embrace, and *constantly to believe*. Not upon the account of their being, or that they were declared to be consonant to the Catholic doctrine, and the practice of former ages ; but

because *he thought* them to be agreeable to the *laws* and *ordinances* of God. Presumptuous thought! as if a single layman (and he too no *great Apostle*, no *eminent Theologist!*) could be supposed or imagined to be a more completely qualified judge in *doctrinal matters* and *moral duties*, than all the learned divines of his kingdom, and all the Fathers and General Councils put together! People may suppose what they please; but in the case now before us, we have a more flagrant proof of King *Henry*'s *presumption*, than his *learning;* which how considerable soever it may be represented in fulsome panegyricks, it had always the misfortune to be an equal match for his *vanity.*

No. IX.

Mercantius, *in his* Hort. Past. *p.* 299, *presents us with the following Distich.*

Millia dena unus Templorum sustulit Annus!
Quàm timeo in Pœnas vix satis unus erit!

"In the short circle of a year, 'tis said,
Ten thousand Temples in the dust were laid!
To expiate a Crime of such a size,
A thousand years, I fear, will scarce suffice."

No. X.

Extract of Cardinal Pole's *Bull of Dispensation, as far as it relates to the new Bishopricks, Hospitals, &c. erected by King* Henry the Eighth.

Authoritate Apostolicâ, per Literas Sanctissimi Domini nostri D. Julii Papæ III. nobis concessâ, et qua fungimur in hac parte, Tenore Præsentium, dispensamus, quod omnes et singulæ Cathedralium Ecclesiarum *Erectiones*, Hospitalium et Scholarum *Fundationes*, tempore præteriti Schismatis, licet de facto nulliter attentatæ, in eo Statu, in quo nunc sunt, perpetuò firmæ et stabiles permaneant; illisque Apostolicæ Firmitatis robur adjicimus: ita ut non eâ Authoritate quâ prius, sed eâ quam eis tribuimus, factæ ab omnibus censeantur.—*Bul. Disp. Card. Poli.*

No. XI.

Chanteries *and* Free Chapels, *what?*

A Chantery was, in the days of yore, understood to be a little Church, Chapel, or particular Altar in some Cathedral, Collegiate, Abbatial, &c. Church, endowed with lands or other revenues, for the maintenance of one or more Priests, daily to sing *Mass*, and perform Divine Service for the benefit of the founders, or such as they appointed.

Mr. *Fuller* reckons up 47 *Chanteries* in S. *Paul*'s Church only; and a modern writer gives us the following intelligence relative to *York* Minster. "It appears," says he, "by a catalogue of all the *Chanteries* within this Cathedral, as they were certified into the Court of Augmentation, *anno* 37 *Hen.* VIII. that there were above forty Altars erected in different parts of it." *Drake's Antiquities of York*, B. II. p. 519, 520. Where, after this general account of his own, our Author subjoins (from *Dodsworth*) a particular Catalogue, wherein the number of *Chanteries* in the Cathedral of *York* alone, amount to 44.

Free Chapels were so called, because they were independent on any Church, and endowed with lands, &c. for much the same purposes as the former.

The whole number of *Chanteries* and *Free Chapels* in *England*, before their total suppression, are computed to be about 2375; besides 110 Hospitals and 90 Colleges; which were all promiscuously involved in the same common ruin.

No. XII.

A Blot, *they say*, is no Blot till it is hit: *but whether we have not hit upon a Blot in the boasted Work of a late* Ecclesiastical Historian, *we leave the candid Reader to judge and determine, after he has carefully compared the following genuine Words of Mr.* Collier, *with Mr.* D ——*'s disingenuous Quotation of them.*

Mr. *Collier* says:

"By the evidence of records, there were more righteous Monasteries in *England*, than righteous men in *Sodom*.

Yet this overballance of merit could not divert, &c."—*Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. Book III. p. 161.

Mr. D—— *says:*

"By the evidence of records, there were many more righteous in the Monasteries, than righteous men in *Sodom.*"—*D——'s Eccl. Hist.* Part I. Book I. p. 118.

Now, admitting this to be *true*, it cannot, however, be allowed to be a *true* quotation: for there is, most certainly, a wide difference between *Monasteries* and *men:* between *righteous Monasteries*, and *righteous in the Monasteries.* But let us sift this author's meaning.

He tells us, "There were *many more* righteous in the Monasteries, than righteous men in *Sodom.*" Were there so? And *how many more* does he think there might be? Were the righteous monastics twice as *many more* than the righteous men in *Sodom?* And is this the meaning of his *many more?* If it is, he makes but a bad compliment to all the religious in all the monasteries of both sexes in *England.* But supposing there were a *thousand* more (and this, to be sure, may be accounted *many more*) righteous *in the monasteries*, than righteous men in *Sodom*, what is all this to the purpose? Still our Author stands guilty of a flagrant misquotation: for he ought not to have compared *men with men*, but *Monasteries* with *men;* as Mr. *Collier* does. He ought not to have suppressed Mr. *Collier*'s *righteous Monasteries in England*, and much less to have supplied their places with his *righteous in the Monasteries.* What can excuse such a false step as this? If it was made by *mistake*, it is (in a *quotation*) scarce excuseable: if by *design*, it cannot be too severely censured.

As for Mr. *Collier*, to give him his due, he treats the religious with much more complaisance, good manners, and respect, than this comes to. He generously throws into the scales "more righteous Monasteries in *England*, than righteous Men in *Sodom;* which makes the *overballance of merit* extremely visible and conspicuous on the part of the *Religious Houses.*

What could induce or tempt Mr. *D*—— not only to alter Mr. *Collier*'s *words*, but also to pervert the *sense* of them, we cannot pretend to say. But sure we are, that by such unguarded steps as these, the credit and reputation of an author will always *stagger*, if it does not *fall to the ground.*

Were it worth our while, we could point out and detect several other considerable flaws and blemishes in Mr. *D*——'s Ecclesiastical Performance. But this (besides

that it is a disagreeable task) is quite foreign to our present purpose. Neither indeed should we have taken notice of the abovementioned notable *specimen* of that Gentleman's *legerdemain*, had it not happened to fall so unluckily across our way, that there was no possibility of getting over it, without a remark.

See the second Part of these *Memoirs*, where Mr. *Collier* makes good his assertion, and actually *enumerates* "more righteous *Monasteries* in *England*, than righteous *men* in *Sodom*;" and this from the *evidence of records*.

No. XIII.

An Instance of Stephen Marshall's *frantic Zeal for the Good Old Cause.*

After the fight at *Brentford*, where the royalists came off victorious, "the King took about five hundred prisoners, for a taste of his mercy. For knowing well how miserably they had been misguided, he spared their lives, and gave them liberty, on no other conditions, but only the taking of their oaths not to serve against him. But the Houses of Parliament being loth to lose so many *good men*, appointed Mr. *Stephen Marshall* (a principal zealot at that time in the cause of Presbytery) to call them together, and to absolve them from that oath: which he performed with much confidence and authority."—D. *Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians*, L. 13, p. 448.

The *confidence* of this man (or indeed of any other enthusiastical bigot like himself) is not much to be wondered at; but from whence he had his *authority* to absolve the King's subjects (taken in actual rebellion) from the obligation of a solemn oath, we profess we cannot easily comprehend.

No. XIV.

Smectymnuus *explained.*

This ridiculous cant-word made its first appearance in public in the time of the grand rebellion. It comprehends a club of five Parliamentary Holdersforth, viz. *Stephen Mar-*

shall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcommen, and *William Spurstow;* the initial letters of whose names and surnames being put together, compose the senseless word *Smectymnuus.*

This famous club of modern saints published a book against Episcopacy and the Common Prayer in the year 1641, to which they subscribed their names in capital letters, S. M. E. C. T. Y. M. N. U. U. S.—Not content with this, they afterwards published (by order of the Parliament) a scurrilous libel, entitled *The King's Cabinet Unlocked;* wherein all the tender and endearing expressions in the letters that passed between King *Charles the First* and his *Royal Consort* were most scandalously ridiculed, and basely burlesqued.

If the Reader should be desirous to know, by what mischance or accident *the King*'s *Cabinet* happened to fall into the hands of the rebels, we can inform him, from good authority, that that misfortune was the unhappy consequence of the loss of the fatal battle of *Naisby,* where "the King's army being put to an absolute rout, the rebels made themselves masters of his camp, carriage, and cannon, and, amongst other things, of his Majesty's cabinet, in which they found many of his letters, most of them written to the Queen, which afterwards were published by command of the Houses, to their great dishonour. For whereas the *Athenians,* on the like success, had intercepted a packet of letters from *Philip,* King of *Macedon,* their most bitter enemy, unto several friends, they met with one to his Queen *Olympias.* The rest being all broke open before the Council, that they might be advertised of the King's purposes, the letter to the Queen was returned untouched; the whole senate thinking it a shameful and dishonest act, to pry into the conjugal secrets betwixt man and wife. A modesty for which those of *Athens* stand as much commended by *Hilladius Bisantinus,* an ancient writer, as the chief leading men of the Houses of Parliament, are like to stand condemned for want of it, in succeeding stories."—D. *Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians,* L. XIII. p. 471.

No. XV.

A Copy of King Henry the Eighth's *last Will and Testament, as far as it regards Religious Matters.*

"In the name of God, and of the glorious and Blessed Virgin our Lady S. *Mary*, and of all the holy company of heaven, We *Henry*, by the grace of God King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and in earth, immediately under God, the supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and also of *Ireland*, of that name the *Eighth*; calling to our remembrance the great gifts and benefits of Almighty God, given to Us in this transitory life, do give unto him our most lowly and humble thanks, acknowleding ourselves insufficient in any part, to deserve or recompense the same. But for fear that we have not worthily received the same; and considering further also, that We be (as all mankind are) mortal, and born in sin; believing nevertheless, and hoping, that every Christian creature, living here in this transitory world under God, dying in stedfast and perfect faith, and endeavouring and exercising himself to execute in his lifetime, if he hath leisure, such good deeds and charitable works as the Scripture commendeth, and as may be to the honour and pleasure of God, is ordained, by *Christ*'s Passion, to be saved, and attain eternal life: of which number We verily trust, by his grace, to be one.

"And that every creature, the more high that he is in estate, honour, and authority in this world, the more he is bound to love, serve, and thank God, and the more diligently to endeavour himself to do good and charitable works, to the laud, honour, and praise of Almighty God, and the profit of his soul. We also, calling to remembrance the dignity, estate, honour, rule, and government, that Almighty God hath called Us unto in this world, and that neither We, nor any other creature-mortal, knoweth the time or place, when or where, it shall please Almighty God to call him out of this transitory world; willing, therefore, and minding, with God's grace, before our passage out of the same, to dispose and order our later mind, will, and testament, in that sort, as We trust it shall be acceptable unto Almighty God, our only Saviour *Jesus Christ*, and all the holy company of heaven, and the due satisfaction of all godly brethren in earth, have now, being of whole and perfect mind, adhering wholly to the right faith of *Christ*,

and his doctrine, repenting also of our old detestable life, and being in perfect will and mind, by his grace, never to return to the same, nor such like. And minding, by God's grace, never to vary therefrom, as long as any remembrance, breath, or inward knowledge doth or may remain within this mortal body; most humbly and heartily do commend and bequeath our soul to Almighty God, who, in person of the Son, redeemed the same with his most precious body and blood in time of his Passion: and for our better remembrance thereof, hath left here with us, in his Church Militant, the consecration and administration of his precious body and blood, to our no little consolation and comfort, if we thankfully accept the same, as he lovingly, and undeservedly on man's behalf, hath ordained it, for our only benefit, and not his.

"Also We do instantly require and desire the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, his Mother, with all the holy company of heaven, continually to pray for Us while We live in this world, and in the time of passing out of the same, that we may the sooner attain everlasting life, after our departure out of this transitory life, which We do both hope and claim by *Christ*'s Passion. And as for my body, which, when the soul is departed, shall then remain but as a *cadaver*, and so return to the vile matter it was made of, were it not for the crown and dignity which God has called Us unto, and that We should not be counted an infringer of honest and worldly policies and customs, when they be not contrary to God's laws, We could be content to have it buried in any place accustomed for Christian folks, were it never so vile, for it is but ashes, and to ashes it shall return. Nevertheless, because We would be loth, in the reputation of the people, to do injury to the dignity which We are unworthily called unto, We are content, and also by these presents, our last will and testament, to will and order, that our body be buried and interred in the Quire of the College of *Windsor*, middle-way between the stalls and the high altar, and there be made and set, as soon as conveniently may be done after our decease, by our executors, at our costs and charges, if it be not done by Us, in our life-time; an honourable tomb for our bones to rest in, which is well onward, and almost made already, with a fair grate about it, in which We will also that the bones and body of our true and loving wife Queen *Jane* be put also: and that there be provided, ordained, and set, at the costs and charges of Us, or of our executors, if it be not done in our lifetime, a convenient altar, honourably pre-

pared and apparelled, with all manner of things requisite and necessary for daily *Masses* there to be said perpetually, while the world shall endure. And also We will, and especially desire and require, that where and whensoever it shall please God to call Us out of this transitory world to his infinite mercy and grace, be it beyond the sea, or in any other place, without our realm of *England*, or within the same, that our executors, as soon as they conveniently may, shall cause all divine service for dead folks to be celebrated for Us, in the next and most proper place where it shall fortune Us to depart out of this transitory life: and ever, We will, that whensoever and wheresoever it shall please God to call out of this transitory life to his infinite mercy and grace, be it within the realm or without, that our executors, in as godly, brief, and convenient haste as they may or can, order, prepare, and cause our body to be removed, conveyed, and brought into the said College of *Windsor*, and the service of *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with a Sermon and *Mass* on the morrow, at our costs and charges, devoutly to be done, observed, and solemnly kept, there to be buried and interred in the place appointed for our said tomb, to be made for the same intent, and all this to be done in as devout-wise as can or may be: And we will and charge our executors, that they dispose and give alms to the most poor and needy people that may be found, common beggars as much as may be avoided, in as short space as possible they may, after our departure out of this transitory life, one thousand marks of lawful money of *England*, partly in the same place and thereabout, where it shall please God Almighty to call us to his mercy, partly by the way, and part in the same place of our burial, after their discretions: and to move the poor people that shall have our alms, to pray heartily to God for the remission of our offences, and the wealth of our souls.

"And We will, that with as convenient speed as may be done, after our departure out of this world (if it be not done in our life) that the Dean and Canons of *Windsor* shall have manors, lands, tenements, and spiritual promotions, to the yearly value of VI C pounds, over all charges, made sure to them and to their successors for ever, upon these conditions hereafter ensuing, and for the due accomplishment and full performance of all other things contained within the same, in the form of an indenture, signed with our own hand, which shall be passed by way of covenant for that purpose, between the said Dean and Canons and our

Executors (if it pass not between Us and the said Dean and Canons in our life) : that is to say, the said Dean and Canons, and their successors for ever, shall find two Priests to say *Masses* at the said Altar, to be made where We have before appointed our tomb to be made and stand.

" And also after our decease to keep yearly four solemn *Obits* for Us within the said College of *Windsor,* and at every of the said *Obits* to cause a solemn Sermon to be made, and also at every of the said *Obits* to give to poor people in alms ten pounds, and also to give for ever yearly to thirteen poor men, which shall be called *Poor Knights,* to every of them twelve pence a day, and once in the year, yearly for ever, a long gown of white cloth, with the Garter upon the breast, embroidered with the shield and cross of S. *George* within the Garter, and a Mantle of red cloth, and to such one of the thirteen *Poor Knights* as shall be appointed to be head and governor of them iii. *l.* vj. *s.* viij. *d.* yearly for ever, over and beside the said xij. *d.* by the day. And also to cause, every Sunday in the year for ever, a Sermon to be made at *Windsor* aforesaid, as in the said indenture and covenant shall be more fully and particularly expressed ; willing, charging, and requiring our son Prince *Edward,* all our executors and councellours which shall be named hereafter, and all other our heirs and successors, which shall be Kings of this Realm, as they will answer before God Almighty at the dreadful day of judgment, that they, and every of them, do see that the said indenture and assurance to be made between Us and the said Dean and Canons, or between them and our executors, and all things therein contained, may be duly put in execution, and be observed and kept for ever perpetually, according to this our last Will and Testament."—*Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book V. p. 243.

" The alterations in religion which immediately followed," says Mr. *Collier,* " made this part of the King's Will insignificant. The court [of King *Edward*] did not believe any applications of the living could be serviceable to the dead ; and thus the *Masses, Obits,* and *Charities* designed to relieve him in the other world, were dropt, notwithstanding his solemn charge to the contrary. *Sanders* will have this a judicial misfortune upon King *Henry,* for defrauding the *Wills* of so many Founders of Chanteries and Religious Houses."—*Collier's Ecclesiastical History,* Vol. II. Book IV. p. 220.

And Mr. *Fuller* very gravely concludes: "It is but just with God, that he who had but too much of his *will* done when living, should have less, when dead, of his *testament* performed."—*Ful. Ch. Hist.* Book V. p. 253.

No. XVI.

King Henry the Eighth's *last Speech to his Parliament: with some short Reflections upon it.*

THE following harangue, which we are going to rehearse for the entertainment of our Reader, is commonly called *King Henry the Eighth's last Speech in Parliament;* tho', perhaps, it may not improperly be styled both his *first* and *last* Speech to that August Assembly: for this is the only one to be found upon record, that deserves the title of *his Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne*, in the literal sense of the words.

For once then (and but once) *Henry* took it into his head to supply the Chancellor's place; and to the Speaker of the House of Commons, (who, in an elegant oration, had highly *extolled* the King's *notable qualities*, in presenting the Bills for the Royal Assent) his Majesty, in person, returned the following answer:

"Altho' my Chancellor for the time being hath, before this time, used very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such orations as have been set forth in this High Court of Parliament, yet he is not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plain and ample a manner as I myself am, and can do. Wherefore I, taking upon me to answer your eloquent oration, Mr. Speaker, say, that where you, in the name of our beloved Commons, have both praised and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most heartily thank you all, that you have put me in remembrance of my duty; which is, to endeavour myself to obtain and get such excellent qualities and necessary virtues, as a Prince or Governor should and ought to have; of which gifts I recognize myself both bare and barren: but of such small qualities as God hath endowed me withal, I render his goodness my most humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence, to get and acquire to me such notable virtues and princely qualities as you have alledged

to be incorporated in my person. These thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembered, I eftsoons thank you again, because that you, considering our great charge, not for our pleasure, but for our defence; not for our gain, but to our cost, which we have lately sustained, as well in defence against your and our enemies, as for the conquest of that fortress, which was to this realm most unpleasant and noisome, and shall be, by God's grace, hereafter to our nation most profitable and pleasant; having, of your own minds, granted to us a certain subsidy, here in an act specified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindness, than the profit thereof; as he that setteth more by your loving hearts, than by your substance. Besides this hearty kindness, I cannot a little rejoice, when I consider the perfect trust and confidence which you have put in me, as men having undoubted hope and unfeigned belief in my doings and just proceedings for you; who without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition all *Chanteries*, *Colleges*, *Hospitals*, and other places specified in a certain Act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God and the profit of the commonwealth. Surely if I, contrary to your expectation, should suffer the Ministers of the Church to decay, or Learning, which is so great a jewel, to be minished, or poor and miserable to be relieved, you might say, that I, being in so special a trust as I am in this case, were no trusty friend to you, nor charitable to mine, nor even a Christian; neither a lover of the public wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation shall be served more godly and goodly than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive.——[*Great promises, but no performances!*]

"Now, since I find such kindness on your part towards me, I cannot chuse but love and favour you, affirming that no prince in the world more favoureth his subjects than I do you, nor no subjects or commons more loved and obeyed their Sovereign Lord, than I perceive you do me; for whose defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor, if necessity require, my person shall not be unadventured. Yet, although I wish you, and you wish me, to be in this perfect love and concord, this friendly amity cannot continue, except both you, my Lords Temporal and my Lords Spiritual, and you my loving subjects, study and take pains to amend one thing, which surely is amiss, and far out of order, to

which I most heartily require you; which is, that charity and concord is not among you, but discord and dissention beareth rule in every place. S. *Paul* saith to the *Corinthians* in the thirteenth chapter: *Charity is gentle. Charity is not envious. Charity is not proud*, and so forth, in the said chapter. Behold then, what love and charity is among you, when one calleth another *Heretic* and *Anabaptist*, and he calleth him again, *Papist*, *Hypocrite*, and *Pharisee*. Be these tokens of charity amongst you? Are these signs of fraternal love between you? No: no. I assure you, that this lack of charity amongst yourselves will be the hinderance and assuaging of the fervent love between us, as I said before, except this wound be salved, and clearly made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be, partly by negligence of you, the fathers and preachers of the spiritnality.

"I see here daily, that you of the Clergy preach one against another, envy against one another, teach one contrary to another, without charity or discretion. Some be too stiff in their old *mumpsimus*, and others too busy and curious in their new *sumpsimus*. Thus all men, almost, be in variety and discord, and few or none preach truly and sincerely the Word of God, as they ought to do. Shall I judge you charitable persons, doing this? No: no. I cannot do so. Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord, when you, preachers, sow amongst them, in your sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darkness. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set out God's Word, both by true preaching and good example-giving; or else, I, whom God hath appointed his *Vicar* and *High Minister*, ['*tis a wonder he did not call himself High Priest*] here will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty, or else I am an unprofitable servant, and an untrue officer.

"Altho' I say that the spiritual men be in some fault, that charity is not kept amongst you, yet you of the temporality be not clear and unspotted of malice and envy; for you rail at Bishops, speak scandalously of Priests, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, both contrary to good order and Christian fraternity. If you know surely, that a Bishop or Preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Council, or to Us; to whom is committed by God the *High Authority* to reform and order such causes and behaviour; and be not judges yourselves

of your fantastic opinions and vain expositions; for in causes you may lightly err. And altho' you may be permitted to read the holy Scripture in your mother tongue, you must understand, it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your consciences, and instruct your children and family, and not to dispute, and make Scripture a railing and taunting stock against Priests and Preachers, as many light persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear, how unreverently that most precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rhimed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same; and yet I am even as much sorry, that the readers of the same follow it, in doing, so faintly and coldly. For of this I am sure, that charity was never so faint amongst you, and virtuous and good living was never less used, nor God himself, amongst Christians, was never less reverenced, honoured, and served.

"Therefore, as I said before, be in charity one with another, like brother and brother, love, dread, and fear God; to the which I, as your *Supreme Head* and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you; and then, I doubt not but that love and leave, that I spoke of in the beginning, shall never be discouraged or broken between us."——*Hall's Chronicle, quoted in the Parliam. Hist. of England*, Vol. III. p. 205.

REFLEXIONS.

Thus the *Royal Preacher* exerts his oratorial talents, and displays the whole stock of his eloquence, only to recount, in the conclusion, (what he could not remedy) the *dire effects* of his own most *godly and goodly* reformation, under the following heads.

First, the *want of Charity* amongst all sorts of people, whether church or lay men. *For of this I am sure, that Charity was never so faint amongst you.*

Secondly, an almost total disuse of *virtue* and piety. *Virtuous and good living was never less used.*

Thirdly, the scandalous abuses and vile prophanations of the holy Scriptures in *alehouses and taverns, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same.*

Fourthly, a visible decay of the worship and service of God: *God himself, amongst Christians, was never less reverenced, honoured, and served.* And all these complaints, it seems, are grounded upon *certainty* and conviction: *For of this I am sure.*

Fifthly, Bishops were disrespectfully treated, and *railed* at. Priests and Preachers were publicly *rebuked*, *taunted*, and ridiculed. And by this means, both the Clergy and their functions were rendered despicable in the eyes of the populace.

Lastly, *dissention*, like a deluge, overspread the face of the land! *Discord and dissention beareth rule in every place!* A frightful picture of the confused and tumultuary state of religion in those unhappy days, tho' drawn by the hand of a King!

And since the death of this *High Minister* of the Church, may it not be questioned, whether our *morals* have acquired any great matter of improvement, or our *religion* either, excepting only in the article of *variety?* In which particular, it must be confessed, we have succeeded perhaps beyond expectation, perhaps to the wonder and astonishment of all *Europe!*

To conclude, if this King had reason to complain, that even in his time *almost all men were in variety and discord*, can we safely say we have no grounds at present for the like complaint? Does it appear that our *religious affairs* are in a more amicable posture now-a-days? Is it not fact, that a prodigious *variety* of religious opinions is, at this time, professed and propagated within the precincts of this island? And is it not a fact too, that they are productive of no small *discord* amongst us? And to whom do we stand indebted for these *signal advantages*, but to the *Great King Harry?* This is the *godly and goodly* Monarch, who, out of his excessive goodness and generosity, has bequeathed to us and our heirs for ever the precious legacy of *variety* and *discord!*

Add to this, that his breaking down the fences of the Church, to let in a rabble of *New Gospellers;* his maltreating the Bishops and Clergy, and his bullying them out of their properties; his disincorporating *Religious Societies*, and demolishing their *houses*, are facts, glorious facts; and such as, beyond all peradventure, will powerfully recommend to the latest posterity the *immortal* memory of King *Henry the Eighth.*

No. XVII.

Cranmer's *Ordination Faculties: extracted out of his* Commission.

"EDWARDUS SEXTUS, D. G. Ang. Fra. et Hib. Rex F. D. ac in terra Eccl. Ang. et Hib. Supremum Caput. Revmo. in Christo Patri, Thomæ Cantuariensi Episcopo, salutem. Quandoquidem omnis Jurisdicendi Authoritas, atque etiam Jurisdictio omnimoda, tàm illa quæ *Ecclesiastica* dicitur quàm *Sæcularis*, à Regia Potestate, velut a Supremo Capite, emanat.—Ad ordinandos igitur quoscunque, infra Diæces. tuam Cant. ad omnes, etiam sacros, et Presbyteratûs Ordines promovend. *Vices nostras*, Tenore Præsentium, tibi committimus, ac liberam *Facultatem* concedimus, teque licentiamus per præsentes, *ad nostrum beneplacitum duntaxat duraturas*. In cujus rei testimonium præsentes literas inde fieri, et sigilli nostri, quo ad *Causas Ecclesiasticas* utimur, appensione jussimus muniri. Datum 7 die mensis Feb. 1546, et regni nostri primo."

See the *Commission* itself at full length, (and comprehending all the duties of a Bishop) in *Burnett's Collection of Records*, Book II. No. II.

No. XVIII.

The Rubrick.

¶ "THE Minister shall take so much bread and wine as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy Communion, laying the bread upon the corporas, or else in the patten, or in some other comely thing prepared for that purpose. And putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair and convenient cup prepared for that use, (if the chalice will not serve) putting thereto a little pure and clean water." p. 22.

¶ "For avoiding all matters and occasions of dissention, it is meet that the Bread prepared for the Communion be made through all this realm after one sort and fashion: that is to say, *unleavened* and *round* as it was afore, but without all manner of *print*, and something more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly divided in di-

verse pieces, and every one shall be divided into two pieces at the least, or more, by the discretion of the Minister, and so distributed. And men must not think less to be received in Part, than in the Whole, but in each of them the whole Body of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*." p. 43.

See the *Form* and *Manner* of consecrating and administering the *Holy Communion*, according to the *Liturgy* of King *Edward* VI.—Printed at *London* by *Edward Whitchurch, anno Dom.* 1549, *mense Maii;* and reprinted by *H. Parker* 1717.

No. XIX.

Bp. *Burnet*, in his *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I. Book II. p. 172, confesses thus much of *Cranmer* and his opinions.——"It is true he [*Cranmer*] had some singular opinions about Ecclesiastical Functions and Offices, which he seemed to make wholly dependent on the Magistrate, as much as the civil were." And to do honour to his *Athanasius*, our *singular Historian* has took care to preserve these *singular opinions* in his own most *singular Collection of Records;* where (among many other exotics) we meet with the following remarkable *Questions* and *Answers*, in a Paper intitled:

"The Resolutions of several Bishops and Divines, of "some Questions concerning the Sacraments, &c." of which the following only are to our purpose.

9th Question.

"Whether the Apostles, lacking a higher power, as not having a Christian King, made Bishops by that necessity, or by authority given by God?"

Cranmer's Answer.

"All Christian Princes have committed unto them, immediately of God, the cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's Word, for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political, and civil governance. The Ministers of God's Word, under his Majesty, be the Bishops, Parsons, Vicars, and such other Priests, as be appointed by his Highness to that ministration.—All the said officers and ministers, as well of that sort

as the other, [*i. e.* ecclesiastical as well as civil] be appointed, assigned, and elected by the laws and orders of Kings and Princes. In the admission of many of these officers, [Bishops for example] be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used [in ordaining them] which be not of *necessity*, but only for a good order and seemly fashion; for if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity [of ordination] they were nevertheless truly committed: and there is no more promise of God, that grace is given in committing of the Ecclesiastical Office [by Ordination] than it is in the committing of the Civil Office [by the King's Letters Patents]. In the Apostles' time, when there were no Christian Princes, by whose authority ministers of God's Word might be appointed, there was no remedy then [no authority from God, as he supposes] for appointing Ministers.——So sometimes the Apostles, and others, appointed Ministers of God's Word, sometimes the people did chuse such as they thought meet."

Barlow's Answer.

"That because they [the Apostles] lacked a Christian Prince, by that *necessity* they ordained other Bishops."

10th Question.

"Whether Bishops or Priests were first? And if the Priests were first, then the Priest made the Bishop."

Cranmer's Answer.

"The Bishops and Priests were at one time, and were no two things, but one office, in the beginning of *Christ*'s Religion"

Barlow's Answer.

"In the beginning they were all one."

11th Question.

"Whether a Bishop hath authority to make a Priest, by the Scripture, or no? And whether any, but only a Bishop, may make a Priest?"

Cranmer's Answer.

"A Bishop may make a Priest by the Scripture, and so may Princes and Governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their elec-

tion; for as we read, that Bishops have done it, so Christian Emperors and Princes usually have done it; and the people, before Christian Princes were, commonly did elect their Bishops and Priests."

Barlow's Answer.

"That Bishops have no authority to make priests, without they be authorized of the Christian Prince. That laymen have otherwhiles made Priests."

12th Question.

"Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a Bishop and Priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?"

Cranmer's Answer.

"In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a Bishop or a Priest needeth no *Consecration*, by the Scripture; for *election* or *appointing* thereunto is sufficient."

Barlow's Answer.

"That only *appointing* is sufficient, without consecration."—*Burnet's Collection of Records*, Book III. p. 220.

No. XX.

Q. Elizabeth's *dispensative Clause, inserted in her* Commission *for* Parker's *Consecration.*

"Supplentes nihilominus, Supremâ Authoritate nostrâ Regiâ, si quid, aut in his, quæ juxta Mandatum nostrum prædictum, per Vos fient, aut in Vobis, aut vestrûm aliquo, Conditione, Statu et Facultate vestris, ad Præmissa facienda, desit, aut deerit eorum, quæ per Statuta hujus Regni, aut per leges Ecclesiasticas, in hac Parte, requiruntur, aut necessaria sunt: Temporis ratione, et Rerum necessitate, id postulante."——*Bramhall's Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops justified*, p. 88.

No. XXI.

"Ac omnes Ecclesiasticas, Sæculares, seu quorumvis Ordinem Regulares Personas, quæ aliquas Impetrationes, Dispensationes, Concessiones, Gratias et Indulta, tam Ordines quam Beneficia Ecclesiastica, seu alias Spirituales

Materias, prætensâ Authoritate Supremitatis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, licet nulliter et defacto obtinuerint, et ad cor reversæ, Ecclesiæ Unitati restitutæ fuerint, in suis Ordinibus et Beneficiis, per Nos ipsos, seu a Nobis ad id deputatos, misericorditer recipiemus, prout multæ jam receptæ fuerunt, secumque super his, opportunè in Domino dipensabimus." ——*Card. Pole's Faculties, quoted by Bp. Bramhall in his Consecrat. and Succession of Prot. Bps. Justif.* p. 64.

No. XXII.

Speed's *Account of Bishop* Fox's *Mausoleum in* Winchester *Cathedral.*

"The Cathedral Church, built by *Kenwolf*, King of the *West Saxons*, that had been *Amphibalus*', S. *Peter*'s, *Swythin*'s, and now *Holy Trinity*, is the sanctuary for the ashes of many *English* Kings. For herein great *Egbert*, *anno* 836, with his son *Ethelwolfe* in 857; here *Elfred*, *Oxford*'s Founder, in 901, with his Queen *Elswith* in 904; here the first *Edmund* before the conquest, in 924, with his sons *Elfred* and *Elsward*; here *Edred* in 955, and *Edwy* in 956, both Kings of *England*; here Queen *Emme* in 1052, with her *Danish* Lord *Canute* in 1035, and his son *Hardicanute* in 1042; and here lastly the *Normans*, *Richard* and *Rufus* in 1100, were interred. Their bones, by Bishop *Fox*, were gathered and shrined in little gilt coffers fixed upon a wall in the quire, where still they remain carefully preserved."—*Speed's Theat. of the Empire of G. B.* (*Hantshire*), p. 13.

They remained so indeed in *Speed*'s time, (for he published his *Theater* in the reign of K. *James the First*); but in the subsequent civil wars, the fanatics made sad havoc in Cathedral Churches, and particularly in *Winchester* Cathedral. See the *Supplement* to the 2d Part of these *Memoirs*.

Note on Bishop Scot: see his Speech, p. 95.---Of this learned and worthy Prelate I am sorry it is not in my power to subjoin so full and satisfactory an account as I could wish, being forced to confess, that, after the strictest search, I find very little recorded of him in our Church History; from whence I have not been able to glean any thing material, besides the following particulars, viz. that "D. *Scot* was consecrated Bp. of *Chester* in 1556. That upon the commencement of Q. *Elizabeth*'s persecution against the Catholics, he was deprived of his Bishopric, and committed to durance, for his refusing to take the *Supremacy Oath:* and that, having the good fortune to escape from his imprisonment, he became a voluntary exile in *Flanders*, and died at *Louvain*."

The End of the Appendix.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

REFORMATION OF ENGLAND:

IN TWO PARTS.

THE WHOLE COLLECTED

CHIEFLY FROM ACTS OF PARLIAMENT

AND

PROTESTANT HISTORIANS.

BY CONSTANTIUS ARCHÆOPHILUS.

" But thou of force must *one* Religion own ;
And *only one*, and that the *right* alone :
To find that *right one*, ask thy rev'rend sire ;
Let him of his, and him of his *inquire*."

PART II.

THE TRANSACTIONS OF K. HENRY VIII. AS SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH.

§ I.—*King* Henry VIII. (*being declared and acknowledged* the Supreme Head of the Church of England) *publishes* Injunctions to the Clergy, *and* Articles of Religion; *in both which he takes upon himself to act in the Character of a* Supreme Ordinary.

HAVING finished our general account of the *manner* how, as also with what *views*, and upon what *motives*, the *Spiritual Supremacy* was invaded and carried by King *Henry* VIII. King *Edward* VI. and Q. *Elizabeth*, we shall now proceed to a more circumstantial detail of their conduct with regard to *Ecclesiastical Affairs:* it being our intention, in the *Second Part* of these *Memoirs*, to display more distinctly and particularly the *Use* they made of their *Spiritual Authority*.

Now as soon as King *Henry* VIII. was acknowledged by the Clergy to be *supreme* in Church Matters as well as State Affairs, he procured a Bill to pass both Houses, that * "That no constitution or ordinance shall be hereafter by the Clergy *enacted*, *promulged*, or *put in execution*, unless the King's Highness do approve the same by his authority and royal assent: and his advice, aid, and favour, be also interponed for the execution of every such constitution, to be made in time coming among his Majesty's subjects."—And by virtue of this and some other acts of a similar nature (to be seen in Mr. *Collier*'s Collection of Records, No. XIX. XX.) the Clergy are expressly required and enjoined neither to *attempt*, *alledge*, *claim*, or *put in use* any of the old canons, without leave from the Crown; nor yet to *enact*, *promulge*, or *execute* any new ones. And thus the King became most absolutely, in fact as well as title, *the Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England.*

And now, the power of the Clergy being utterly sup-

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. i. p. 68; and his *Collection of Records*, No. XVII.

pressed by the superior force of disabling Acts, and the Authority of the Church being laid asleep, *Henry* lays hold of the favourable opportunity to assume the character of *Supreme Ordinary*, and adventures to appear as such in the publication of his *Injunctions*, which Bishop *Burnet* thinks were *the first Act of his Supremacy.*—[The Reader will find a short *Abstract* of them in the *Appendix*, No. VI.]—As to the general contents of them, they are as follow, viz. All Ecclesiastical Incumbents were, in the first place, to cry down the *Pope*'s *Power*, and preach up the *abrogation* of some *superfluous holy days*. They were to inform the *people* of the *particulars* which they ought to teach their *children*. They were to take care that the *sacraments*, &c. be reverently administered. They were not (except upon *urgent occasions*) to frequent *taverns* or *alehouses*, nor indulge (after meals) in *drinking*, *tables* or *card-playing*, but be mindful to give *good example*. The next three articles regard the proper management of the Clergy's *Revenues*, and the due *reparations* of their *Churches*, *Chapels*, and *Mansion-houses*; and the last article contains the *penalties* to be inflicted on the violators or infringers of his Majesty's *Injunctions*; which amounted to *suspension* and *sequestration*.—And such were the regulations prescribed to the Clergy.

But it seemed a much more difficult task, how to regulate and keep within proper bounds the rest of the people, who now began to run mad after *new gospels* and *new religions*. For the *seeds of heterodoxy* having been sown in almost every corner of the nation, they soon sprouted up, and soon promised (what indeed they have since produced) a plentiful harvest of *religious oddities*.

But of all the unorthodoxies of the times, none seemed more remarkable than the *Mala Dogmata*, under which denomination the absurd opinions of the *Zuinglian* Gospellers were comprised. They had lately been imported from *Swisserland*; and, like other foreign exoties, were not a little admired (and perhaps improved too) by the *English*, who naturally delight in novelties.—[The Reader may gratify his curiosity with a *taste* of them in the *Appendix*, No. VII.]

By way of counterpoise to these enormities in casuistry and christian morality, the King soon found himself obliged to publish *a system of his belief*. It was comprised in a set of *articles*, which do not seem indeed to swerve or recede, in any material point, from the doctrines admitted

and defined in former General Councils. Neither have they, on the other hand, any thing in them that may seem to favour the modern Church of *England:* for they strenuously assert and maintain, *that Penance is a Sacrament instituted by Christ*: *the necessity of Auricular Confession: the corporal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist: the Use of Images: Invocation of Saints: Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead.*—[See a short abstract of these *Articles* in the Appendix, No. VIII.]

In perusing these *Articles*, (which, as well as the *Injunctions*, are directed to the Clergy) one cannot help taking notice of the King's lofty style of—*We think—We will—We command—We have caused to be published—We have committed our people to their* [the Clergy's] *Spiritual Charge.* ——From which last expression in particular, it is pretty plain, that the Clergy now held their *Spiritual Commissions* from the King, in quality of their *Supreme Ordinary*.

Cardinal *Pole* takes notice of this unexampled stretch of the *regale*, in his answer to Bp. *Tonstal*, who, it seems, had endeavoured to clear the King from the imputation of invading the Sacerdotal Office, because he did not pretend to preach, or administer the sacraments. "To this," says Mr. *Collier*, "the Cardinal rejoins, that his taking the title of *Supreme Head of the Church* supposed him the fountain of *Spiritual Jurisdiction*: and in case he had authority to delegate others, and commissionate them for such offices, does it not follow, that he might execute the same whenever he pleased? Farther, if the administration of the sacraments is the highest spiritual office, must it not belong to the *Supreme Ordinary* and be annexed to the Head of the Church?"—[See Bp. *Tonstal*'s *Letter*, and the *Cardinal*'s *Answer*, in Mr. *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. which, for brevity's sake, we omit.]

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§ 2.—*The King takes it into his Head to* reform *the* Regulars: *and procures an Act of Parliament to dissolve* the lesser Houses... *The* Preamble *to that Act*... Corrodies explained.

HENRY having reformed the *Secular Clergy*, by virtue of his *Injunctions*, *Articles*, and what not, his next resolve was, to introduce a reformation amongst the *Regulars*; but such a reformation as proved fatal to them in the event, and

concluded with the total extirpation of them all. True it is, that the *religious inhabitants* were first assaulted; but this was only a false attack, the true one being carried on, all the while, against their *houses*. This was the bait that drew on the Reformation; and the riches of the abbies, &c. may be said, in one sense, to have contributed not a little to their own ruin.

Now, in order to come at his prey with more ease and expedition, his Majesty had the precaution to get all the Monasteries in *England* put under the immediate jurisdiction of the Crown. And this was done by virtue of a statute enacted for that purpose, part of which is as follows:

'As for Abbots, Priors, and all places exempt and formerly under the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope, these *religious fraternities* were to make their *appeal* immediately to the Court of *Chancery*; neither were any Archbishops or Bishops to disturb their application to the King, or intermeddle with such matters.'—*Stat.* 25. *H.* VIII. c. 20.

"* By this clause, all the *religious*, instead of being returned to the jurisdiction of their diocesans and metropolitan, were put under the *regale*, and the King is enacted their *Ordinary*. This provision, we may imagine, was contrived to bring on the dissolution of the Abbies: for now the King was empowered to visit the Monasteries, to inspect their behaviour, and proportion the correction at his pleasure."

At first the King only proposed to dissolve the lesser Monasteries, *i. e.* such of them whose revenues did not exceed *L.* 200 *per annum*: and

"† This proposal," as Mr. *Fuller* observes, "found little opposition in either of the Houses. *Henry* VIII. was a king, and his necessities were tyrants; and both [king and tyrant] suing together, must not be denied: besides, the larger *thongs* they [of the temporality] cut out of other men's *leather*, the more entire they preserved their own *hide*; which made the Parliament concur to ease their own purses by laying the load on the *lesser houses*, which they accordingly passed to the crown." "‡ In Parliament," says our Annalist, "were granted to the King and his heirs all religious houses in the realm of *England* of the value of *L.* 200 and under, with all the lands and goods to them be-

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. ii. p. 84.
† *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book vi. p. 310.
‡ *Stow's Annals*, p. 572.

longing. The number of the houses then suppressed were 376, and the value of their lands then thirty-two thousand pounds and more by the year. The moveable goods (as they were sold at *Robin Hood*'s Pennyworths) amounted to more than ten thousand pounds. The religious persons that were in the said houses were clearly put out; whereof some were sent to the other greater houses, and some went abroad into the world."

And thus began the *blessed work* of Reformation. It was built upon the ruins of demolished religious houses; and the Act of Parliament that first gave birth to it bears this title:

'*An Act concerning the Suppression or Dissolution of certain Religious Houses, given to the King's Highness, and to his Heirs for ever.*'

The *Preamble* to this Act is too curious and remarkable to be overlooked. It sets forth, that 'Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living, is daily used and committed commonly in such little and small Abbies and Priories, and other Religious Houses of Monks, Canons and Nuns, where the congregation of such persons is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the governors of such Religious Houses, and their Convents, spoil, destroy, consume, and utterly waste, as well those Churches, Monasteries, Priories, principal houses, farms, granges, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as the ornaments of their Churches, and their goods and chattels, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good Religion, and the general infamy of the King's Highness and the realm, if redress should not be had thereof. And albeit that many continual visitations have been heretofore had, by the space of two hundred years and more, for an honest and charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnal, and abominable living; yet nevertheless little or none amendment is hitherto had; and by a cursed custom, so grown and infested, that a great multitude of religious persons, in such small houses, do rather chuse to come abroad in apostasy, than to conform themselves to the observation of good religion. So that, without such small houses be utterly suppressed, and the religious persons therein committed to great and honourable Monasteries of Religion in this realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously for the reformation of their lives, there can be no redress or reformation in that behalf. In consideration whereof, the King's most Royal Majesty, being Supreme Head in earth, under God,

of the Church of *England*, daily studying and devising the increase and advancement and exaltation of true doctrine and virtue in the said Church, to the only honour and glory of God, and the total extirping and destruction of vice and sin, having knowlege that the premises be true, as well by the complaints of their late visitations, as by sundry credible informations.

'Considering also, that divers and great solemn Monasteries of this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and observed, be destitute of such full numbers of religious persons as they might and may keep, have thought good that a plain declaration should be made of the premises, as well to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as to others his loving subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled; whereupon the said Lords and Commons, by a great deliberation, finally resolved, that it is, and shall be, much more to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of this realm, that the possessions of such small religious houses now being spent, spoiled, and wasted, for the increase and maintenance of sin, should be used and converted to better uses; and the unthrifty religious persons so spending the same, be compelled to reform their lives. And thereupon most humbly desire the King's Highness that it may be enacted, by authority of this present Parliament, that his Majesty shall have and enjoy, to him and his heirs for ever, all and singular such Monasteries, &c. *as in the printed statute.*"——And such was the tenour of this famous *Preamble*: upon which we beg leave to subjoin

Mr. *Fuller*'s Observations.

"* We must not forget," says he, "how in the foresaid *Preamble*, the King fairly *claweth* the great Monasteries, *Wherein*, says he, *religion, thanks be to God, is right well kept and observed;* tho' he *clawed* them soon after in another acceptation.—However, most specious *uses* were pretended, *That all should be done to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of the realm.* And particular care is taken in the statute, as it is printed, *For the reservation of many rents and services, corrodies and pensions to founders, donors, and benefactors.* They [the purchasers or grantees] were also *to occupy yearly as much of the demesnes in tillage as the Abbots did, or their farmers under them, within the time of twenty years next before this Act, otherwise forfeiting to the King's Highness, for every month so offending, L.* 6 : 13 . 4,

* *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book VI. p. 312.

to be recovered to his use in any of his courts of record. The arrears whereof, if rigorously exacted, would amount to a vast sum from such offenders, whose hospitality was contracted to *a shepherd and his dog;* neither relieving those that *would work* by their industry, nor such as *could not work* by their *charity.* These penalties stood in full force above 80 years, viz. till the 21st of King *James*, when by Act of Parliament they were repealed. Indeed, such who are obnoxious to *Penal Statutes* are only *innocent by courtesy*, and may be made guilty at the Prince's pleasure. And tho' some statutes may be dormant, as disused, they are never dead till revoked, seeing commonly Princes *call on* such statutes when they themselves are *called on* by their necessities. Many of the *English* gentry knew themselves subject to such penalties, when, instead of maintaining tillage, they had converted the granges of Abbies into inclosures; and therefore provided for their own safety, when they wrought the King into a revocation of those statutes."—*Vid. Stat.* 21 K. J. c. 28.

These observations are sufficiently plain and intelligible. There is not a word of obscurity in them, if we except *corrodies:* of which antiquated term we shall give our Reader an explication from the same writer.

"* *Corrodies* were so called *à corrodendo*, from eating together: for the heirs of the founders had the privilege to send a set number of their poor servants to Abbies to diet there. Thus many aged servants, (past *working*, not *feeding*, *costly* to keep, and *cruel* to cast off,) were sent by their masters to the Abbies, where they had plentiful food during their lives. But these *corrodies*, after the dissolution of the Abbies, were totally extinct, and no such diet after given, when both *table* and *house* were overturned."

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§ 3.—*Some previous Remarks upon the King's destructive Scheme of* A general Dissolution of all the Monasteries in England.

THE demolition of the lesser Monasteries having given King *Henry* a taste of *monastic gold*, it was not long before he resolved to glut his voracious appetite with the *downfall of all the rest*, and make a prize of the Church. He had already prevailed with himself to pass the *Rubicon!* from

* *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book VI. p. 326.

whence he continues his desolating march; still advancing by degrees from less to more, till at last he left not so much as a single Monastery (*little* or *great*) standing within the precincts of his realm of *England*.

Since therefore it may be questioned if the *British Annals* can furnish us with a more astonishing emergency, than *the general Dissolution of the Religious Houses;* and since this was an affair that touched the Regular Clergy in a very sensible manner, and occasioned an extraordinary Revolution in the Church, we beg leave, and hope to be indulged the freedom and liberty to open the scene a little, and enlarge upon the circumstances. And this indeed we have endeavoured to perform, but with no other view than that of doing justice to the memory of the injured sufferers, and of exposing, at the same time, the unjustifiableness and insignificancy of the King's *motives* for pushing his destructive project into execution. But before we enter upon a detail of this *blessed work*, we imagined it might not be amiss (by way of introduction) to premise the following *remarks*.

1. When and as often as the reader calls to mind the many stately Monasteries and Churches that were formerly in *England*, and considers the dismal end they were brought to; if he does not, as a *Christian*, abhor the *sacrilege* of destroying Churches dedicated to the service of God, only for the vile profit made of the *materials*, he may at least, as a *man*, reflect on the inhumanity of demolishing such noble structures (heretofore, perhaps, the greatest ornaments of this island) by the hands of the natives themselves; and that with such stubborn rage and relentless fury, as if the work had been done by a victorious army of barbarians.

> " O lofty towers and sacred piles,
> That once adorn'd these happy isles!
> Who can recount your overturning,
> Without deep sighs, and bitter mourning?"
>
> *Ward's Ref. c.* 1.

2. Our Monasteries have long since perished, nor have we, at this day, any footsteps left of the piety of our ancestors, to shew to inquisitive strangers, besides a few tattered walls and deplorable ruins! Nay, the *ruins* of most of them are not only gone to ruin themselves, but their very *situations* are quite lost to us, and remembered no more!

> *" Jam seges est ubi Troja fuit!"*

3. The shocking *hostilities* committed by King *Henry* VIII. against the Church (to make use of Lord *Herbert's*

expression) *astonished the Christian world.* And well they might: for with some, I find, it is even doubted, whether the destruction of Christian Churches at this juncture was not equal to the sacrilegious ravages of *Julian the Apostate.*

4. This woful work was both projected and carried into execution by Commissary-General *Cromwel* [a name ever fatal to the Church!] And he acted, in this business, in quality of *principal agent;* being not only the King's *Vicar General*, but his *Scout-Master-General* too, as Mr. *Fuller* humorously styles him *. In which capacity he employed a world of spies and hungry emissaries, whom he empowered with *orders* and *instructions*, to go from one religious house to another, in quest of monastic irregularities and disorders. These *Visitors* (for so they were called) exerted their power to the utmost stretch, and were far enough from partiality in their inquisition. In short, upon their return to *London*, they gave in a most tragical relation of the immorality of the monks, &c. And the consequence of their *informations* was this, that *Cromwel*, by virtue of his *high commission*, and without further *proofs*, dissolved all the Abbies and Monasteries in *England.* Some few of them indeed capitulated, but by far the greater part were taken by storm, plundered, and demolished! This done, *Cromwel* politicly advised the King to alienate the *Abbey Lands* by sale or deed of gift; that by this means the ejectment of the former possessors might become to all intents and purposes irrevocable, and repossession impossible.

"† The writers that lived near that time," says Bishop *Burnet*, "represent the matter very odiously, and say, about 10,000 persons were sent to seek for their livings, only forty shillings in money and a gown being given to every religious man. And it is generally said, and not improbably, that the commissioners were as careful to enrich themselves, as to increase the King's revenue. The churches and cloisters were, for the most part, pulled down, and the lead, bells, and other materials, were sold. The people, that had been well entertained at the Abbots' tables, were sensible of their loss; for generally as they travelled over the country, the Abbies were their stages, and were houses of reception to travellers and strangers. The poor that fed on

* "The Lord *Cromwel*, Scout-Master-General in this design, stayed at court, whilst his subordinate emissaries sent unto him all their intelligence." *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* B. vi. p. 306.

† *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* Vol. I. B. iii. p. 223.

their daily alms were deprived of that supply. But to allay these discontents, *Cromwel* advised the King to sell their lands at very easy rates, to the gentry in the several countries. This drew in the gentry apace, both to be satisfied with what was done, and to assist the crown for ever in defence of these laws; their own interest being so interwoven with the rights of the crown.

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§ 4.—*King* Henry *absolves the Religious from any farther Obligation or Observance of their* Monastic Vows... Cromwel *is appointed his Majesty's* principal Commissary *in the grand Affair of the* General Dissolution. *The Names of some of his sub-deputies... Copy of an Instrument or Act of Surrender... A remarkable Letter from* Richard Bellasis *to Lord* Cromwel.

To pave the way to the astonishing Ecclesiastical Revolution we are going to recount, the King, in virtue of his *dispensing power*, and, as Head of the Church, took upon him to secularize religious persons, and to absolve and free them entirely from the *servitude* of their Monastic Vows; as it is expressed in a statute enacted for that purpose: 'Where all and singular religious persons, of what order, rule, or habit soever, are said to be put at their liberty, from the danger, servitude, and condition of their religion and profession, whereunto they were professed, and have free liberty given them to purchase to themselves and their heirs, in fee-simple, fee-tail, &c. manors, lands, &c. in like manner as though they, or any of them, had never been professed, or enter into any such religion.'—*Vid. Stat.* 31 *H.* 8. c. 13.

And here we beg leave to observe, first, that it is impossible to reconcile this *absolution-statute* with the doctrine delivered in the famous *Six Articles*. For, according to the *fourth* article, the monks, &c. were obliged, upon pain of death, to live up to the duties of their *religious profession*. [The second offence, in this matter, being declared *felony* by the law.] Whereas the statute now before us, at one single blow, knocks off the *spiritual fetters* of a cloistered life, and secularizes the religious as effectually, to all intents and purposes, *as if they, or any of them, had never been professed*. These proceedings are truly surprising. But our surprise, perhaps, will abate something, when we con-

sider that the conduct of K. *Henry* VIII. after his revolt from the See of *Rome*, was nothing else but a continued series of *inconsistencies*. From that unlucky period, he was always doing and undoing he knew not *what*, nor *why*. And thus was he perplexed thro' the remainder of his reign, and (what is still worse) was so unfortunate at his death, as to leave the nation entangled in *religious labyrinths*, wherein it has been, for many generations, and still is, unhappily, bewildered to this day!

Secondly, it is to be observed, that the above-mentioned *statute* is generally represented as this King's last *public act* in quality of *Supreme Ordinary*. For after this, we are told his Majesty stept behind the scene, and acted only the part of a *prompter;* resigning to another man the honour of being *the hero of the tragedy*.

And who should this man be, but the celebrated *Thomas Cromwel?* The *destructive scheme* was of his own projectment; and who more fit to be employed in the management and execution of it than himself? No wonder then, if, at this juncture, and upon so extraordinary an occasion, we find him advanced to the dignity of the King's **Commissary General*, and surrounded by a crowd of commissioners, or sub-delegates: amongst whom the following are particularly mentioned by Mr. *Fuller*, viz.

"† *Richard Layton*, *Thomas Leigh*, *William Petre*, Doctors of the Law, D. *John London*, Dean of *Wallingford*. Of the three first I can say nothing; but I find the latter (tho' employed to correct others) no great saint himself: for afterwards he was publicly convicted of perjury, and adjudged to ride with his face to the horse's tail, thro' *Windsor* and *Ockingham*, with papers about his head denoting his crime; which was done accordingly."

To these sub-delegates were afterwards added *Southwell*, *Gaye*, *Price*, *Bellasise*, *Cave*, &c. who, with *Cromwel* at their head, invaded the Church with such unexampled fury, and carried on the *blessed work* so vigorously, that, in one year's time, ten thousand parochial, abbatial, conventual, &c. churches, chapels, oratories, &c. were entirely ruined, if there be no exaggeration in this noted verse:

"*Millia dena unus Templorum destruit annus!*"

* The patent for *Cromwel's* Vicar-Generalship styles him *Vicemgerentem, Vicarium Generalem, ac Commissarium Specialem et Principalem.* Vid. Mr. *Collier's Collection of Records*, No. XXX.

† *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* B. vi. p. 317.

" In the short period of a year, 'tis said,
Ten thousand Temples in the dust were laid !"
Vid. Fuller's Ch. Hist. Book vi. p. 309, and the *Appendix*, No. IX.

Mr. *Fuller* is of opinion it was *Christchurch* Priory, (of Canon Regulars) near *Aldgate, London*, that led the dismal *dance*.

" * As for the manner of dissolving thereof, whereas all *Abbies* afterwards were *stormed by violence*, (whatever is plausibly pretended to the contrary) this only was fairly *taken by composition*. For the Prior thereof was sent for by the King, commended for his hospitality, promised preferment, as a man worthy of greater dignity.—Whereupon he surrendered the same to the King's use.—What might move the King to single this Priory out of all the rest, *to lead this sad dance*, is variously conjectured. Indeed, this was the ancientest of all *England*, of that order, since the Conquest, I mean of Canon Regulars, as our Author [*Stow*] tells us. And therefore it was but reasonable that *the oldest should go first*, and that the *first born* should be *first buried*. But surely no such consideration moved King *Henry* to this choice, who was not so methodical in his *deeds of undoing*."

Some kind of method, however, was constantly pursued in conducting these acts of desolation, or *deeds of undoing*, as Mr. *Fuller* further observes. And it was this.

" † King *Henry* sent a *large instrument*," saith *Sanders*, " to every monastery, fairly ingrossed in parchment, *enjoining* them all to subscribe, sign, and seal the same with their *seal conventual*, upon the pain of his displeasure.—Most certain it is (which amounts almost to as much in effect) a general intimation was given to all houses, how acceptable such an act would be to the King. It was also pressed upon the said Monks, Friars, and Nuns, that by being obnoxious to the King's anger, this [*i. e.* the stripping them of their temporals] might and would be done *without their consent;* so that it was better, *rebus sic stantibus*, to make a virtue of necessity."

Add to this, that the very *instruments* the religious were obliged, at this juncture, to *sign* and *seal*, required their throwing themselves upon (what they never found) the King's *mercy*. I shall gratify the reader with a sight of

* *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* B. vi. p. 307. † *Ibid.* p. 319.

one of these *curiosities in puris naturalibus*, and without altering the least tittle of its ancient and venerable pseudography. Such is the following

Copy of an Instrument or Act of Surrender.

'Whereas yowr Hyghnes being Supreme Hedde immeadiately aftre *Christ*, of his Church in this yowr royalme of *England*, so consequently generall and only Reformator of all Religious Persons there, have full authority to correct and dyssolve at your Graces pleasure and libertye, all Covents and Religious Companyes, abusing the rewles of their profession. Wherefore minded hereaftre to folowe the same, conformyng owr selffes unto the will and pleasure of owr Supreme Hedde undre God in Erthe, the Kinges Majestye, withe mutuall assent and consent doo submytt owr selffes unto the mercye of our said Soveraygne Lorde. And with like mutuall assent and consent doo surrender and yelde upe unto the handes of the same, all owr saide howse of in , comenly callyd , withe all landes, tenements, gardens, medowes, waters, pond-yards, feedings, pastures, comens, rentes or tythes aperteyning unto the same; mooste humbly besechyng his mooste Noble Grace to disspose of us, and of the same, as best schall stonde withe his mooste gracious pleasure. And farther, freely to graunt unto every one of us Licens undre Writyng and Sceall, to chaunge our Abites into seculer fasshion, and to receive such maner of livyngs as other Seculer Priestes comenly be preferryd unto. And we all faythfully schall pray unto Almighty God, long to preserve his mooste Noble Grace wythe encrease of moche felicitie and honor.

'And in witnes of all and singuler the premisses, we have put owr Covent Sceall, this day of .'

N. B. All Abbots, Priors, and other heads of Religious Houses, (and all their subjects) were expressly and peremptorily injoined to sign, seal, and subscribe their names to this, or some such like *instrument*.

Thus the Religious being compelled to surrender their Properties without further ceremony, became an easy prey to the greedy *Visitors;* whereof such as were vested with extensive commissions and a discretionary

*power**, proceeded directly to ejectment. And in order to preclude the return of the religious inhabitants for the future, their houses (after having been severely ransacked and plundered) were utterly ruined and defaced. And this woful sentence (pronounced by the *Commissary General*) was executed with such relentless rigour, and in so barbarous a manner, that not so much as the dead walls were spared. In short, the dreadful havoc and the sacrilegious depredations committed in and about these *ancient monuments of devotion*, (as my Lord *Herbert* styles them) by *Cromwel* and his fellow-plunderers, are, we think, too shocking to be repeated; and, for this reason, we forbear the recital of them.

However, we hope our Reader will not be displeased with *one instance* out of the many that might be produced, if the vile conduct of these devouring locusts (the *visitors* we mean) in the person of *Richard Bellasise;* who, it seems, had been appointed by *Cromwel* to destroy *Jervaux* Abbey and *Burlington* Priory [of *Can. Reg.*]: that from the behaviour of this incendiary alone, he may learn how significantly the rest of the *visitors* were employed.

> " ..... *Crimine ab uno,*
> *Disce omnes.*"

And thus does our *pious* sub-deputy give an account to Lord *Cromwel* in what manner he had performed part of his commission, and how he intended to execute the rest, in a remarkable letter to his Lordship as follows.

" Plesyth your good Lordshipp to be advertysed, I have taken down all the leade of *Jervase*, and made itt in pecys of half foders, which leade amountyth to the number of 18 score and five foders, with thirty and five foders that were there before; and the said leade cannot be conveit nor caryed untill the next sombre, for the ways in this contre are so foull and deep, that no caryage can pass in wyntre; and as concernyng the rasing and taking downe of the house, iff itt be your Lordshipp's pleasure, I am mindeth to lett itt stand to the spring of the year, by reason of the days are now so short, itt would be double charges to do itt now; and as concernyng the selling of the bells, I cannot sell

† The generality of the *Visitors* were furnished with a plenitude of *power*, to visit, deprive, or suspend Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the inferior Clergy. And with regard to the Monasteries, they had an absolute and illimited authority.---See a full account of these *powers* in Mr. *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. ii. p. 165, and his *Collection of Records*, No. XXX.

them above 15 shillings the hundreth, wherein I wolde gladly know your Lordshipp's pleasure, whether I shall sell them after that price, or send them up to *London*; and iff they be sent up, surely the caryage will be costly from that place to the water; and as for *Brydlington*, I have doyn nothing there, but spareth itt to *March*, because the days are now so short; and from such time as I begyn, I trust shortly to dispatche itt, after such fashion, that when all is finished, I trust your Lordshipp shall think that I have been no evil howsbound in all such things as your Lordshipp appointed me to do; and thus the Holy Ghost ever preserve your Lordshipp in honour.

"At *York* this 14 day of *Nov.* by your most bounden beadman,

"Richard Bellycys."

Thus fell the great solemn Monasteries of this realm, to the number of 645! and with the demolition of religious houses, churches, &c. ended (to his immortal honour) *King Henry's Reformation!* For, as the noble Author of this Prince's Life observes, *Henry promoted no other Reformation but only that which would turn the penny and increase the exchequer.*

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§ 5.—*Of the six Bishoprics erected by K.* Henry VIII. ..*The Erection is confirmed by Cardinal* Pole *in the Reign of Queen* Mary... *The Changes at* Westminster.

And now our great Monarch seemed to be placed in the happy circumstances of the famous King of *Lydia*. Riches, with a full spring tide, came rolling in upon him from every quarter! insomuch that he soon found himself obliged to institute a new court, with proper officers, to collect and manage to advantage his *extraordinary royal intrado*. It was called *The Court of Augmentation*. But it proved to be an unprosperous establishment; for, in seven years time, it came to nothing!

However, out of this prodigious mass of wealth, which must needs accrue from the seizure of all the *houses*, *lands*, and *revenues* (besides the *jewels*, *plate*, and ready *money*, of all the Religious Orders in *England*, *Henry*, with much ado, was persuaded to restore some inconsiderable scraps to the Church. And with this view, he is said to have set apart eight thousand pounds *per annum*, to support the six

Bishoprics which he afterwards erected at *Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Gloucester, Chester*, and *Westminster*. The five first remain Episcopal Sees to this day. But of the last place, as a Bishop's seat, we have but little to say, further than that it was soon up, and soon down again; once a Bishopric, now a Deanry. That D. *Thirlby* (or *Thurlby*) was both the first and the last Bishop of *Westminster;* and that, in the next reign, it was dissolved by the King's *Letters Patents*, as D. *Heylin* informs us.

And here, perhaps, it may not be improper to observe, that the erection of the above-mentioned Episcopal Sees, with some other alterations of a similar nature, that had been made by King *Henry* VIII. towards the conclusion of his reign, were first dispensed with, to remain in *statu quo*, and afterwards confirmed by Cardinal *Pole* in the reign of Queen *Mary:* yet so, that the new erected Cathedrals, Hospitals, &c. are declared, in the Cardinal's *Bull of Dispensation*, to have obtained no sanction or validity from their first irregular establishment by the King; and that therefore it was thought necessary they should be grounded upon and supported by *Apostolical Authority;* in virtue whereof, the above changes and alterations are said to be and to remain *firm and inviolable for ever.*—See as much of this *Bull* as makes for our purpose, in the *Appendix*, No. X.

But of all the changes that happened at this time to particular churches, those that befel *Westminster* Abbey Church are, perhaps, none of the least remarkable: and, as such, we beg leave to lay them before the Reader in D. *Heylin*'s own words.

"*The Abbey of *Westminster*," says he, "had been founded for a Convent of *Benedictin* Monks by King *Edward the Confessor*, valued, at the suppression by King *Henry the Eighth*, at the yearly sum of 3977 pounds in good old rents, *anno* 1539. At which time, having taken to himself the best and greatest part of the lands thereof, he founded with the rest a Collegiate Church, consisting of a Dean and Secular Canons; and afterwards erected it into an Episcopal See."

But its too near vicinity to the court, exposed it to the depredations of the nobility, by whom it was so unmercifulfuly fleeced, that Bp. *Thirlby* was hard put to it to sup-

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 56.

port his dignity with the scanty allowance that was left him. But fortune did not always frown upon him. For in K. *Edward*'s reign he had the good luck to be translated to *Norwich*. And as he never had a predecessor, so never was there any successor (after his translation) appointed in his room, in the See of *Westminster*.

"† For in the sixth year of King *Edward*, the Bishoprick of *Westminster* was dissolved by the King's Letters Patents; by which the county of *Middlesex*, which had before been laid unto it, was restored unto the See of *London*.—Most of the lands of *Westminster* were invaded by the great men of the court, the rest laid out for the reparation of S. *Paul*'s, pared almost to the very quick in those days of rapine. From hence came that significant by-word of *robbing Peter to pay Paul*."——In short: "‡ In the space of *twenty years* it had been changed from an Abbey to a Deanry, from a Deanry to a See Episcopal; and from that reduced again to a Deanry; and lastly by Queen *Elizabeth* (having first pleased herself in the choice of some of the best lands belonging to it) it was to be called *The Collegiate Church of St. Peter's, in Westminster*."

Much in the same manner does Mr. *Fuller* describe the changes at *Westminster*, only with this difference, that he allows a longer period of time (by ten years) for the completion of them. And thus (in his own most remarkable style) does he entertain his reader upon this subject.

"§ The bells of S. *Peter*, in *Westminster*, had strangely *rung the changes* these last *thirty years*. Within which time, first, it was a stately and rich convent of *Benedictin* Monks. Secondly, it was made a Collegiate Church of a Dean and Prebendaries by King *Henry* VIII. Thirdly, by the same King it was made an Episcopal See, and *Thomas Thirlby* the first and last Bishop thereof. Fourthly, Queen *Mary* reseated the Abbot and Monks in the possession thereof, who were outed after her death. Lastly, Q. *Elizabeth* converted it again into a Collegiate Church."

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 121. ‡ *Idem*, p. 136.
§ *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book ix. p. 70.

§ 6.—*Sir* William Dugdale's *Account of the Suppression of our* English *Monasteries.*

The following narrative is taken out of Sir *William Dugdale*'s celebrated *History of Warwickshire* (p. 801), where, after having mentioned the particular suppression of *Polesworth* nunnery, he takes an occasion to present his reader with *a short* view of the vile artifices and scandalous methods that were pursued by the King's Agents or Commissioners in carrying on the general Dissolution of all the Abbies, Monasteries, Nunneries, &c. in the kingdom.

"I find it recorded by the Commissioners, that were employed to take surrender of the Monasteries in this shire, (*an.* 29. *Hen.* VIII.) that after strict scrutiny, not only by the fame of the country, but by examination of several persons, *they found these Nuns vertuous and religious women, of good conversation.* Nevertheless, it was not the strict and regular lives, or any thing that might be said in behalf of the Monasteries, that could prevent their ruin then approaching. So great an aim had the King to make himself thereby glorious, and many others no less hopes to be enriched in a considerable manner. But to the end that such a change should not overwhelm those that might be active therein, in regard the people every where had no small esteem of these houses, for their devout and daily exercises in prayer, alms-deeds, hospitality, and the like, whereby not only the souls of their deceas'd ancestors had much benefit, as was then thought, but themselves, the poor, as also strangers and pilgrims constant advantage; *there wanted not the most subtle contrivances to effect this stupendious work, that, I think, any age has beheld;* whereof it will not be thought improper, I presume, to take here a short view.

"In order therefore to it, was that which Cardinal *Wolsey* had done for the founding of his Colleges in *Oxford* and *Ipswich* made a precedent, viz. the dissolving of above thirty Religious Houses, most very small ones, by the licence of the King and Pope *Clement* VII. And that it might be the better carried on, Mr. *Thomas Cromwell*, who had been an old servant to the Cardinal, and not a little active in that, was the chief person pitch'd upon to assist therein. For I look upon this business as not originally designed by the King, but by some principal ambitious men of that age, *who projected to themselves all worldly advantages*

imaginable, thro' the deluge of wealth which was like to flow amongst them by this hideous storm.

" First, therefore, having insinuated to the King matter of profit and honour, (*viz.* profit, by so vast an enlargement of his revenue, and honour, in being able to maintain mighty armies to recover his right in *France*, as also to strengthen himself against the Pope, whose Supremacy he himself had abolished, and to make the firmer alliance with such Princes as had done the like) did they procure *Cranmer*'s advancement to the See of *Canterbury*, and more of the Protestant Clergy (as my authority terms them) to other Bishopricks and high places ; to the end that the rest should not be able, in a full council, to carry any thing against their design ; sending out preachers to persuade the people to stand fast to the King, without fear of the Pope's curse, or his dissolving their allegiance.

" Next, that it might be more plausibly carried on, *care was taken so to represent the lives of Monks, Nuns, Canons, &c. to the world, as that the less regret might be made at their ruin.* To which purpose, *Thomas Cromwell* being constituted *General Visitor*, employed sundry persons, who acted their parts therein accordingly, viz. *Richard Layton*, *Thomas Leigh*, and *William Petre*, Doctors of the Law, and D. *John London*, Dean of *Wallingford*, and others. By which they were to inquire into the government and behaviour of the Religious of both sexes. Which Commissioners, the better to manage their design, *gave encouragement to the Monks not only to accuse their Governors, but to inform against each other ; compelling them also to produce the charters and evidences of their lands, as also their plate and money, and to give an inventory thereof.* And hereunto they added certain *injunctions* from the King, containing most severe and strict rules ; by means whereof, divers being found obnoxious to censure, were expelled, and many, discerning themselves not able to live free from exception and advantage that might be taken against them, desired to leave their habit.

" Having by these Visitors thus searched into their lives, (which by a *black book*, containing a world of *enormities*, were represented in no small measure scandalous, to the end that the people might be better satisfied with their proceedings), it was thought convenient to suggest that the lesser houses, for want of good government, were chiefly guilty of these crimes that were laid to their charge : and so they did, as appears from the *Preamble* of that Act for their dis-

solution, made in the 27th of *Henry* VIII. which Parliament, (consisting in the most part of such members as were pack'd for the purpose, thro' private interest, as is evident from divers original letters of that time, many of the nobility, for the like respects also, favouring the design) assented to the suppressing of all such houses as had been certified of less value than two hundred pounds *per annum*, and giving them, with their lands and revenues, to the King. Yet so, as not only the religious persons therein should be committed to the great and honourable Monasteries of the realm, where they might be compelled to live religiously for the reformation of their lives, *wherein, thanks be to God, Religion is well kept and observed*, (they are the words of the Act) *but that the possessions belonging to such houses should be converted to better uses, to the pleasure of God Almighty, and the honour and profit of the realm.*

" But how well the tenour thereof was pursued we shall see; these specious pretences being made use of for no other purpose, than by *opening this gap to make way for the ruin of the greater houses*, wherein it is by the said Act acknowledged *that Religion was so well observed.* For no sooner were the Monks, &c. turn'd out, and their houses demolished, (that being the first thought requisite, lest some accidental change might conduce to their restitution) but care was taken to prefer such persons to the superiority in government, upon any vacancy in these greater houses, as might be instrumental to their surrender, by tampering with the Convent to that purpose; whose activeness was such, that within the space of two years several Convents were wrought upon, and Commissioners sent down, to take them at their hands to the King's use; of which number I find, that besides the before specified Doctors of the Law, there were 34 Commissioners.

" The truth is, that *there was no omission of any endeavours that can well be imagined to accomplish these surrenders.* For so subtilly did the Commissioners act their part, as that after earnest *solicitation* with the Abbots, and finding them backward, they first *tempted them with pensions during life*, whereby they found some forward enough to promote the work, as the Abbot of *Hales*, in *Gloucestershire*, was, who had high commendation for it from the Commissioners, as their letters to the *Visitor General* do manifest. So likewise had the Abbot of *Ramsey* and the Prior of *Ely*. Nay, some were so obsequious, that after they had wrought the surrender of their own houses, they were employed as

commissioners to persuade others; as the Prior of *Guisborn*, in *Yorkshire*, for one. Neither were the courtiers unactive in driving on this work; as may be seen by the Lord Chancellor *Audley*'s employing a special agent to treat with the Abbot of *Athelney*, and to offer him a hundred marks *per annum* pension, in case he would surrender; which the Abbot refused, insisting upon a greater sum: and the personal endeavours he used with the Abbot of *Osithe*, in *Essex*, as appears by his letter to the *Visitor General*, wherein it is signified, *that he had with great solicitation prevailed with the said Abbot;* but withal insinuating his desire that, *his place of Lord Chancellor being very chargeable*, the King might be moved for an addition of some more profitable offices unto him. Nay, I find that this great man, the Lord Chancellor, hunting eagerly after the Abbey of *Walden*, in *Essex*, (out of the ruins whereof, afterwards that magnificent fabrick called by the name of *Audley* Inn, was built) as an argument to obtain it, did, besides the extenuation of its worth, alledge, *that he had in this world sustained great damage and infamy in serving the King, which the grant of that should recompense.*

"Amongst the particular arguments which were made use of by those that were averse to surrender, I find that the Abbot of *Feversham* alledged the antiquity of their Monastery's foundation, viz. by King *Stephen*, whose body, with the bodies of the Queen and Prince, lay there interred, and for whom were used continual suffrages and commendations by prayers. Yet it would not avail; for they were resolved to effect what they had begun by one means or other: insomuch that they procured the Bishop of *London* to come to the Nuns of *Sion* with their Confessor, to solicit them thereunto. Who after many persuasions, took it upon their consciences that they ought to submit unto the King's pleasure therein, by God's law. But what could not be effected by such arguments and *fair promises*, (which were not wanting nor unfulfilled, as appears by the *large pensions* that some active Monks and Canons had in comparison of others, even to a fifth or six-fold proportion more than ordinary) was by *terror* and *severe dealing* brought to pass. For under pretence of dilapidation in the buildings, or negligent administration of their offices, as also for breaking the King's injunctions, *they deprived some Abbots, and then put others that were more pliant in their room.*

"From others they *took their Convent Seals*, to the end they might not, by making leases or sale of their jewels,

raise money either for supply of their present wants, or payment of their debts, and so be necessitated to surrender. Nay to some, as in particular to the Canons of *Leicester*, the Commissioners threatened, *that they would charge them with adultery and b———— unless they would submit.* And D. *London* told the Nuns of *Godstow*, that *because he found them obstinate, he would dissolve the house by virtue of the King's Commission, in spite of their teeth.* And yet all was so managed, that the King was solicited to accept of them, not being willing to have it thought they were by terror moved thereunto; and special notice was taken of such as gave out that their surrender was by *compulsion.*

"Which courses (after so many that through underhand corruption led the way) brought on others apace; as appears by their dates, which I have observed from the very instruments themselves; insomuch that the rest stood amazed, not knowing which way to turn themselves. Some therefore, thought fit to try whether money might not save their houses from this dismal fate, so near at hand. The Abbot of *Peterborough* offered 2500 marks to the King, and three hundred Pounds to the *Visitor General.* Others with great constancy refused to be accessary in violating the donations of their pious founders. But these, as they were not many, so did they taste of no little severity. For touching the Abbot of *Fountaines*, in *Yorkshire*, I find, that being charged by the Commissioners for taking into his private hands some jewels belonging to the Monastery, which they called *theft* and *sacrilege*, they pronounced him *perjured*, and so deposing him, extorted a private resignation. And it appears that the monks of the Charter-house, in the suburbs of *London*, were committed to *Newgate*, where, with hard and barbarous usage, five of them died, and five more lay at the point of death, as the Commissioners signified; but withal alledged, that the suppression of that house, being of *so strict a rule*, would occasion great scandal to their doings, forasmuch as it stood in the face of the world, infinite concourse coming from all parts to that populous city; and therefore desired it might be altered to some other use. And lastly, I find that, under the like pretence of robbing the Church, wherewith the aforesaid Abbot of *Fountaines* was charged, the Abbot of *Glastonbury*, with two of his Monks, being condemned to death, was drawn from *Wells* upon a hurdle, then hang'd upon the hill called *Tor*, near *Glastonbury*, his head set upon the Abbey gate, and his quarters disposed of to *Wells*, *Bath*, *Ilchester*, and *Bridgwater*.

Nor did the Abbots of *Colchester* and *Reading* fare much better, as they that will consult the story of that time may see. And for farther terror to the rest, some Priors and other Ecclesiastical Persons, who spoke against the King's Supremacy, a thing then somewhat uncouth, were condemned as traitors, and executed.

" And now, when all this was effected, to the end it might not be thought that these things were done with a high hand, the King having protested that he would suppress none without the consent of his Parliament, (it being called *April* 28, 1539, to confirm these surrenders so made) there wanted not plausible insinuations to both Houses, for drawing on their consent with all smoothness thereunto: *the nobility being promised large shares in the spoil;* either by free gift from the King, easy purchases, or most advantageous exchanges; and many of the active gentry, *advancement to honours, with increase of their estates:* all which we see happened to them accordingly. And the better to satisfy the *vulgar*, it was represented to them, that by this deluge of wealth the kingdom would be strengthened with an army of forty thousand men, and that for the future they should never be charged with *subsidies, fifteenths, loans*, or *common aids*. By which means, the Parliament ratifying the above surrenders, the work became compleated. For the more firm settling whereof, a *sudden course was taken, to pull down and destroy the buildings;* as had been done before upon the dissolution of the smaller houses, whereof I have touched. Next, to distribute a great portion of their lands amongst the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, as had been projected; which was done accordingly: the *Visitor General* having told the King, that the more had interest in them, the more they would be irrevocable.

" And lest any domestick stirs, by reason of this great and strange alteration, should arise, rumours were spread abroad, that Cardinal *Pole* laboured with divers Princes to procure forces against this realm, and that an invasion was threaten'd, which seemed the more credible, because the truce between the Emperor and the *French* King was generally known, neither of them wanting a pretence to invade *England*. And this was also seconded by a sudden journey of the King to the sea coasts, unto divers parts whereof he had sent sundry expert persons, to visit the coasts and places of danger, who failed not, for their discharge upon all events, to affirm the peril in each place to be so great,

as one would have thought every place needed a fortification. All which preparations being made against a danger believed imminent, seemed to excuse the suppression of the Abbies, as that the people, willing to save their own purses, began to suffer it easily; especially when they saw order taken for building such forts.

"But let us look a little upon the success, wherein I find that the *Visitor General*, the grand actor in this *tragical business*, having contracted upon himself such an odium from the nobility, by reason of his low birth, (though not long before made Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Essex*, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*) as also from the Catholics, for having thus operated in the dissolution of Abbies, that (before the end of the above-said Parliament, wherein that was ratified which he had with so much industry brought to pass) the King not having any more use of him, gave way to his enemies' accusations. Whereupon being arrested by the Duke of *Norfolk* at the council table when he least dreamed of it, and committed to the Tower, he was condemned by the same Parliament for heresy and treason, unheard and little pitied; and on the 28th of *July*, viz. four days after the Parliament was dissolved, had his head cut off on Tower-hill.

"And as for the fruit which the people reaped from all their hopes, built upon these specious pretences which I have mentioned, it was very little. For it is plain, that *subsidies* from the clergy, and *fifteenths* of laymen's goods, were soon after exacted; and that in *Edward the Sixth*'s time, the Commons were constrained to supply the King's wants by a new invention, *viz.* sheep, cloaths, goods, debts, &c. for three years. Which tax grew so heavy, that the year following they prayed the King for a mitigation thereof. Nor is it a little observable, *that whilst the Monasteries stood, there was no Act for the Relief of the Poor. So amply did those houses give succour to them that were in want.* Whereas in the next age, viz. 39 *Elizab.* no less than eleven Bills were brought into the House of Commons for that purpose."

Hence we may remark, that the plundering of churches proved, in the end, as fatal to *Thomas Cromwel*, as the *gold of Thoulouse* was inauspicious to *Cepio Servilius*, the *Roman* Consul.

As for the King, he enjoyed but a short temporary advantage from the downfal of Abbies, &c. and the seizure of consecrated treasures. For, having prodigally squandered

away (*within less than seven years after the general Suppression*, as D. *Heylin* informs us) that *deluge of wealth*, and those immense riches which he had purloined from the Church, and his wants still increasing, he soon found himself necessitated to extend his rapacity to *Bishoprics*, *Chanteries*, *Free Chapels*, *&c.* of which more in the next section.

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§ 7.—*King* Henry *makes a second Irruption into the Patrimony of the Church... He puts the* Bishoprics *under Contribution, and procures a Grant of the* Chanteries, Free Chapels, *&c.*

"† MOST true it is, that it was something of the latest before he cast his eye on the lands of Bishopricks; tho' there were some that thought the time long till they fell upon them. Concerning which there goes a story, that after the court-harpies had devoured the greatest part of the spoil which came by the Suppression of Abbies, they began to seek some other way to satiate that greedy appetite, which the division of the former booty had left unsatisfied: and for the satisfying whereof they found not any thing so necessary as the Bishop's lands.

"This to effect, Sir *Thomas Seymour* is employed as the fittest man, being in favour with the King, and brother to Queen *Jane*, his most beloved and best wife; and having opportunity of access to him, as being one of his privy chamber. And he not having any good affection to Archbishop *Cranmer*, desired that the experiment should be tried upon him.

"And therefore took his time to inform the King, that my Lord of *Canterbury* did nothing but fell his woods, letting long leases for great fines, and making havock of the royalties of his Archbishoprick, to raise thereby a fortune to his wife and children. Withal he acquainted the King, that the Archbishop kept no hospitality in respect of such a large revenue; and that, in the opinion of many wise men, it was more convenient for the Bishops to have a convenient *yearly stipend* out of the *Exchequer*, than to be so much encumbered with *temporal royalties*, being so great a hin-

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 17.

drance to their studies and pastoral charge; and that the lands and royalties being taken to his Majesty's use, would afford him (besides the said stipends) a great yearly revenue.

"The King considering of it, could not think fit that such a laudable proposition as taking to himself the lands of the Bishops should be made in vain; only he was resolved to prey farther off, and not to fall upon the spoil too near the court, for fear of having more partakers in the booty than might stand with his profit.

"And to this end he deals with *Holgate*, preferred not long before from *Landaff* to the See of *York*; from whom he takes, at one time, no fewer than *seventy Manors* of good old rents, giving him in exchange to the like yearly value, certain impropriations, pensions, tithes, and portions of tithes, (but all of an extended rent) which had accrued to the Crown by the fall of Abbies: which lands he laid, by Act of Parliament, to the Duchy of *Lancaster*. For which see *Stat.* 37. H. 8. c. 16.

"He dismembered also, by these Acts, certain Manors from the See of *London*, and others in like manner from the See of *Canterbury*; but not without some reasonable compensation for them.

"And altho', by reason of his death, which followed within a short time after, there was no further alienation made, in this time, of the Church's patrimony, yet having opened such a gap, and discovered this secret, that the *Sacred Patrimony* might be alienated with so little trouble, the courtiers of King *Edward*'s time would not be kept from breaking violently into it, and making up their own fortune in the spoil of Bishopricks. So impossible a thing it is for the ill example of great Princes, not to find followers in all ages; especially where *profit* or *preferment* may be furthered by it."

But the King, it seems, was not satisfied with *dismembering* Bishoprics only. They had, indeed, furnished him with a fresh supply of rhino, but nothing equal to his prodigious *expences*. And besides, there were some *pious foundations* which had hitherto escaped his rapacious eyes and hands. These were the Chanteries, Free Chapels, [see the *Appendix*, No. XI.] Hospitals, and Colleges: of all which he had the address to procure a *grant* from his obsequious Parliament, though he lived not long enough to see it executed.

"* King *Henry* VIII.'s *expences*, like sandy ground, suddenly suck'd up the large showers of Abbey-lands, and little sign or show was seen thereof: yea, such the parching thirst of his pressing occasions, that still they called aloud for more moisture. For whose satisfaction the Parliament, in the 38th year of his reign, put the lands of all *Colleges*, *Chanteries*, and *Free Chapels*, into his hands. This made three meals, or (if you will) one meal of three courses, on Abbey lands. For the lesser Monasteries were granted in 1535. The greater Monasteries in 1538. And the Colleges, Chanteries, and Free Chapels, in 1545.

"† How much the yearly revenue of all these Chanteries, Free Chapels, and Colleges, amounted to, God knows; for the King knew as little as some in our age. Indeed, some of his officers knew, but would not know, as wilfully concealing their knowledge therein. Yea, some of these Chanteries may be said, in a double sense, to be *suppressed*; as not only *put down*, but also *concealed*, never coming into the Exchequer, being silently pocketed by private (but potent) persons. True it is, the courtiers were more rapacious to catch, and voracious to swallow these Chanteries than Abby-lands. For, at the first, many were scrupulous in mind, or modest in manners, doubting the acceptance of Abby-lands, tho' offered unto them, till profit and custom (two able Confessors) had, by degrees, satisfied their consciences, and absolved them from any fault therein. Now, all scruples remov'd, Chantery lands went down without any regret. Yea, such who mannerly expected till the King carved for them out of Abbey-lands, scrambled for themselves out of Chantery-revenues, as knowing this was the last dish of the last course; and after *Chanteries*, as after *Cheese*, nothing can be expected. As for those who fairly purchased them of the King, they had such good bargains therein, that thereby *all* enriched, and *some* ennobled both themselves and posterity.

* *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* B. vi. p. 350. † *Ibid.* p. 354.

§ 8.—*Mr.* Collier's *judicious Remarks upon the present Subject, under the following Heads*... I. *He gives us his Thoughts upon the* General Dissolution *of Abbies, &c*... II. *He plainly shows that the Abbies were serviceable to the* Public *upon several Accounts*... III. *He rescues and defends the Monks from the Imputation of* Ignorance.

"† The ruin of the Monasteries giving a new face to this kingdom, and appearing so very extraordinary, it may not be improper to make a few *remarks* upon so great an alteration.

I. "It is pretty plain the lives of the *Religious* were not so irregular as some authors represent them. But granting this charge had been true, it would have been no sufficient reason to have seiz'd their estates. If insobriety and misbehaviour were sufficient grounds for forfeiture; if ill living, and not answering the ends of an estate, would justify the dispossessing the owner, property would be very precarious, and the *English tenures* slenderly guarded.

"For, if we consider the matter closely, all Christians are bound to strict living, to discipline, to large distributions of charity, little less than the Monks. They are false to the engagements of baptism, if they manage otherwise. The Monastic Institutions were principally designed to revive the piety of the ancient Christians, and bring up practice to the rule of the gospel.

"Farther, if degeneracy and misbehaviour were the grand motive for dissolution, why were they not put under a better management? Why had they not some tryal for reformation? If unnecessary expence, and omission of kindness to the poor; if luxury and licence are good reasons to change the owner, and determine the estate; if this will hold, we shall have strange transferring of titles. At this rate, 'tis to be fear'd, some people would have a very slender claim to their Abby-lands.

"But if immorality, or mispending of revenue, is no sufficient reason for defeating of titles, why did the Monasteries suffer? Why must the Church be dispossessed upon this score? Why were the Monasteries which were unexceptionable in their management, which were charitable to the poor, and hospitable to the rich; why were

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. iii. p. 161.

these involved in the common fate, and condemn'd to dissolution with the rest? '* By the evidence of records, there were more righteous *Monasteries* in *England*, than righteous men in *Sodom*.'—However, this over-ballance of merit could not divert the calamity, nor preserve them from ruin. Thus we see how much the mercies of God are greater than those of men! Justice below is sometimes blind upon mysterious motives, strikes without distinction, and sweeps away the *innocent* with the *guilty!*

" If the Monks were tied to greater strictness than others, are not the owners of Abby-lands bound to take their estates with the conditions annexed? I do not say they are bound to the whole compass of their institution; their *tonsure* or *habit*, their *celibacy* or *retirement*, can't reasonably be expected: but are they not obliged to the more significant duties for which these houses were first endowed? Are not these *Secular Grantees* bound to the most substantial part of the founder's will? Are they not under the tie of being more frequent in their devotions, more guarded in their conduct than other people? That the Parliament in King *Henry* VIII.'s time was somewhat of this opinion, is plain: why else did they oblige the *proprietors* of Abby-lands to extraordinary degrees of hospitality?—*Vid. Stat.* 27. H. 8. c. 28.

" If strict living, sober hospitality, and serviceableness to the poor, are accounted incumbrances, the Abby-lands seem chargeable with them. For the *Princes*, *Charters*, and *Acts of Parliament*, may convey a legal title; yet, that they can destroy the force of *Consecrations*, dispense with the meaning of *Founders*, and defeat the design of the *Original Grant*, is farther than I can discover. *Acts of Parliament* have, without question, authority to over-rule claims and extinguish titles, and govern the courts of justice. But are not some things above the reach of the Legislature? Can a *Statute* unconsecrate a Church, enact *Sunday* no holy day, or sacrilege no sin? Is not God Almighty capable of *property?* If we must answer in the affirmative, how can an estate dedicated to his service, and vested in him, be taken away without his consent? Which way can the intention of the donor, and the main design of the conveyance, be overlook'd and defeated? Regularity and largeness of mind, therefore, are the least that can be

* See an instance of Mr. D...d's disingenuity, in a flagrant mis[illegible] of our Author, *Appen.* No. XII.

expected from the *Abby-proprietors.* These, it may be, are the lowest requisites to make such alienations inoffensive to them.

"And therefore, when those who enjoy the *religious* estates, rack their tenants, or overlook the poor: when they exhaust themselves in figure and licenciousness: when any thing of this happens, the intention of the pious settlement is lamentably disappointed: the misapplication is doubly criminal: and without reformation, it is much to be feared, the *curse of the founders* will fall upon them. To be better enabled to ridicule virtue, to browbeat religion, or set a fashion in vice, is wide of the design of a *Religious Foundation.* Those, therefore, who are possessed of these lands, should be particularly careful in these matters.

"It is said, the Monasteries, Colleges, &c. were of a Royal Foundation; and therefore the taking them away was only a resumption of grants from the Crown. To this it will be answered, the assertion is wide of matter of fact; and that many of the Abbies, &c. were founded by Bishops and temporal Lords, and some by subjects of lesser quality.

"Besides, all the estates in the kingdom were grants from the Crown, as appears from the *tenures.* And yet it would have been look'd upon as an arbitrary attempt to have taken them away. For a gift is a translation of right; it extinguishes the title of the donor, and vests the property in another.

"But this alienation of Abby-lands was made by *Act of Parliament.* That is true; and therefore it was a legal outing. But then it will be ask'd, if a great part of the temporal Lords, and others of the rich Laity, had been thrown out of their Estates by a *Statute;* if this had happened, the question is, whether such proceedings would not have been thought an instance of rigour, and a mysterious exercise of authority? Had *they* been thus impoverished, without *treason* or *felony* to deserve it, the legality of the form, and the pleasure of the legislators, would hardly have reconciled them to such usage. They could not have argued against the force of the law, but the friendship of those that made it would not have been so clear.

"Farther, the Endowments of the Church were settled upon important considerations: for the honour of God, for the advancement of learning, for the interest of eternity. And therefore, in *Acts of Resumption,* the Church has been particularly excepted.

"Lastly, the rights and liberties of the Church had been confirmed in *thirty Parliaments*. This made some people think it strange, that King *Henry* VIII.'s Parliaments should be of so very different a sentiment from those in former reigns."

II. "† The advantages accruing to the *Publick* from these *Religious Houses* were considerable upon several accounts. To mention some of them. The temporal Nobility and Gentry had a credible way of providing for their younger children. Those who were disposed to withdraw from the world, or not likely to make their fortunes in it, had a handsome retreat to the cloister. Here they were furnish'd with conveniencies for life and study, with opportunities for thought and recollection; and over and above, pass'd their time in a condition not unbecoming their quality. The charge of the family being thus lessen'd, there was no temptation for racking of tenants, no occasion for breaking the bulk of the estate to provide for younger children. Thus figure and good house-keeping was maintained with greater ease, the entireness of the estate, and, by consequence, the lasting of the family better secured. 'Tis true, there was sometimes some small sums given to the monasteries for admitting persons to be *professed*; but, generally speaking, they received them *gratis*. This they thought most adviseable, to cultivate an interest with persons of distinction. By this means, they engaged great families to appear for them upon occasion, both in Court and in Parliament.

"The Abbies were serviceable places for the education of young people. Every Convent had one person, or more, assign'd for this business. Thus the children of the neighbourhood were taught grammar and music, without any charge to their parents. And in the *Nunneries*, those of the other sex learn'd to work, and read *English*, with some advances into *Latin*; and particularly the Nunnery of *Godstow*, in *Oxfordshire*, was famous upon this account, and for breeding up young gentlewomen and others to improvements proper to their condition.

"Farther, it is to the Abbies we are obliged for most of our *Historians*, both of Church and State. These places of retirement had both most learning and leisure for such undertakings. Neither did they want information for such employment. For not to mention that several Episcopal Sees were founded for the Cloister, the *Mitred Abbots* sate

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. ii. p. 165.

in Parliament, and not a few of the *religious* had a share in the Convocation. It is not denied but that they were some of the best *landlords*. Their *reserv'd rents* were low, and their *fines* easy; and sometimes the product of the farms, without paying money, discharged the tenants in a great measure. They were particularly remarkable for their hospitality. The Monasteries were, as it were, houses of publick entertainment for the gentry that travelled. And as for their distributions of charity, it may be guess'd from one instance. While the *Religious Houses* were standing, there were no provisions of Parliament to relieve the poor; no assessment upon the parish for that purpose. But now this charge upon the kingdom amounts, at a *moderate computation*, to eight hundred thousand pounds *per annum*.

"Besides this rent-charge, as it were, drawn upon the whole nation by the *dissolution*, the ancient nobility suffer'd considerably. For the seisure and surrender of the Abbies being confirm'd to the Crown by Act of Parliament, the *services* reserved by the founders were extinguished of course. To mention some of them: the Abbots that held by knight's service, were bound to provide such a number of soldiers as their estates required, and to furnish them for the *field* at their own charges. Thus the men were to appear at the *musters*, and attend the heirs of their founders, or such benefactors who had settled a knight's fee upon them.

"Secondly, where they held by knight-service, they were bound to contribute towards a *fortune* for marrying their Lord's eldest daughter. And thirdly, to pay a sum of money to defray the expences of knighthood, when that distinction was confer'd upon the founder's eldest son.

"Lastly, the founders had the benefit of *corrodies:* that is, they had the privilege of quartering a certain number of poor servants upon the Abbies. Thus people that were worn up with age and labour, and in no condition to support themselves, were not thrown up to starving or *parish collections*, but had a comfortable retreat to the Abbies, where they were maintain'd, without hardship or marks of indigence, during life."

III. "† When the Monks were settled here in the reign of King *Edgar*, they promoted a general improvement. They were very industrious in restoring learning, and retrieving the country from the remarkable ignorance of those

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. i. p. 19.

times. Their labours were answered with success: insomuch, that whereas before scarce any Secular Priest could write or read a *Latin* epistle, [*Elfric Præf. ad Gram. Sax.*] the face of things was so changed by the endeavours of *Dunstan* and his master *Ethelwald*, that in a short time learning was generally restored, and began to flourish. From this period the Monasteries were the schools and seminaries of almost the whole Clergy, both *secular* and *regular*. For the Universities (if we had more than one) were then very slender *societies*, and the *Muses* were confined, as 'twere, to the cloisters. The Monks thus rising in their figure, made a considerable progress in the restoration of learning. They bred their novices to letters: and to this purpose, every Monastery had a peculiar College in each of the Universities. And even to the time of their *dissolution*, they maintain'd a great number of children at school for the service of the Church. And a little before the Reformation, many of the great Monasteries were *nurseries* of learning. Their superiors were men of distinction this way, and great promoters of their own sufficiency in others.—From hence it appears, that the Monks deserved a fairer character than is sometimes given them: and that in the darkest and most exceptionable ages they were far from being enemies to learning."

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§ 9.—*The* Motives *that induced K.* Henry VIII. *to dissolve the Religious Houses, &c. are recited and answered.*

Motive I. The King's *Necessities.* — *Answer.* It is pretty plain in history, that this King's *necessities* were the *necessary* and unavoidable consequence of his own squandering prodigality and boundless profusion, both at home and abroad. At home, if we view him, "† Nothing was to be seen but tilts, tournaments, balls, and such diversions.—But tho' these entertainments might seem worthy a great young Prince, who had a mind to show the world the magnificence of his court, yet they were very fatal in their consequences, by giving him a constant habit of expence, till the treasures of the Crown were so exhausted, as to put him upon *impious measures* to support his *necessities*."—Then, as to his personal expeditions abroad, they do not

† *Short View*, p. 180.

seem to have been always necessary, or even expedient. For it seems "† This high-spirited and valiant Prince," as my Lord *Herbert* characters him, "would needs engage himself beyond what was requisite, and would be an *actor*, for the most part, when he needed only to have been a *spectator*."

Now, (to say nothing of the prodigious luxury of this King's Court) I only ask, whether it were *requisite* that his Majesty should interfere *personally* in romantic expeditions on the continent, and exhaust the *treasures of the crown* in foreign fruitless campaigns, when he might have contented himself with being a spectator only? And what necessity there could be for him to cross the seas in a superb vessel, rigged out (as Lord *Herbert* assures us) with *sails of cloth of gold?*

Granting, therefore, that *magnificence* (within the bounds of moderation) may be no discommendable qualification in a *great Prince;* yet, on the other hand, is not *prodigality* a vice? And if so, we do not see how it can be exculpated by the feeble plea of *necessity*. One may indeed sometimes make *a virtue of necessity;* but does it not forfeit that title, when it becomes the patroness of *vice?* And does not *prodigality* fall under that denomination? In short, let the King's *necessities* be what they would, or by what ways or means soever contracted, it must, we presume, be allowed, they were impiously supported by sacrilegious plundering, and unjust confiscations. Nay, supposing the Church Treasure had been put to *better uses*, this surely is no excuse for the *sacrilegious seizure* of it.

"‡ The Christian world," says our Noble Historian, "was astonished at these doings: and tho' the excessive number of the Houses excused the King, in some part, for the first suppression of the lesser Houses under 200 pounds, yet the latter suppression of the great Houses had no such specious pretext, when their surrender, purchase, or the like, was urged; so that, notwithstanding *the King's necessities*, no little occasion of scandal and obloquy was given. For, besides the houses and lands taken away, there was much money made of the present stock of cattle and corn, of the timber, lead, bells, &c. and chiefly of the plate and church ornaments, which were not valued. All which being by some openly called *rapine* and *sacrilege*, I will no way excuse."

† Lord *Herbert's Life of King Henry VIII.* p. 511. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 442.

Motive II. The excessive number of Religious Houses. —*Answer.* To this excuse it may be answered: That the redundancy of Religious Houses (if any such there was) might possibly induce the Government to lop off the supernumerary ones; but why was the undistinguishing axe unmercifully laid to the root of all the rest? "† It is very ill surgery, to lop off a limb when there is any hopes of a cure: there is no human institution but will be liable to some errors and inconveniences; but if the good on the other hand outbalances the ill, we ought so to distinguish, as to preserve the one, and remove the other. These places were first founded by the piety of our ancestors, with a charitable design, to give a retreat to such persons as had a mind to detach themselves from the affairs of the world, and dedicate their lives to the service of God, in a state of quiet and devotion. By these people were the hungry fed, the naked cloathed, and the dead buried; with all other acts of charity, which seemed so essential to the spirit of Christianity. But to all this it may be objected, that, tho' these were the designs of the first founders, these houses, by the corruption of time, were degenerated into nurseries of sloth. However, tho' there might be some instances of this nature, it does not follow, that an institution should be abolished for the abuse of it; any more than that there should be no inns to receive honest travellers, because some publick houses harbour thieves and highwaymen. A severe visitation might have corrected these abuses, without turning so many religious into the world, which, by the most solemn vows, they had abandon'd before."

Motive III. The Monks, &c. led immoral lives. — *Answer.* 1. "‡ That the narratives of this kind were swell'd beyond truth and proportion may well be suspected, from the mercenary tempers of some of the Visitors.—Besides, that several of the Religious Houses had a fair reputation, appears from *authentic records.*"—[Having said thus much in defence of the Religious in general, our Author produces not a few particular testimonies (and those mostly signed by the hands of the Visitors themselves) of the inoffensive and unexceptionable behaviour of the following Religious Houses, viz.]—"The Abby of S. *Edmundsbury, Suffolk.* The Priory of *Catesby, Northamptonshire.* The

† *Short View*, p. 189.
‡ *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. Book iii. p. 155.

Abby of *Cliffe*, in *Cornwell*. The Abby of *Ramsey*. The Priory of *Boxgrave*. The Nunnery of *Polesworth*, in *Warwickshire*. The Priory of *Woolstrop*, in *Northamptonshire*. The Nunnery of *Godstow*. The Abby of *Rewly*, in *Oxfordshire*. The Abby of *Hewlin*. The Nunnery of *Leyburne*. ——There are, subjoins our Historian, several other fair testimonials of the Regularity of the *Religious Houses* to be seen upon record in the *Augmentation Office*, but what I have mention'd may be sufficient."—Sufficient they are, to prove demonstratively, that there were more righteous Monasteries in *England*, than righteous men in *Sodom*.

2. Mr. *Fuller* tells us, "† It is confessed by impartial people, that some Monasteries of both sexes, being put to the test, appeared very commendable in their behaviour, so that the least aspersion could not be cast upon them. I read in one Author, (Ld. *Herbert*, p. 399,) *That some societies behaved themselves so well, that their lives were not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare time bestowed in writing books, painting, carving, engraving.*—— Amongst these, the nunnery of *Godstow*, near *Oxford*, must not be forgotten; which as it hath a good name (being God's house or habitation) it well answer'd thereunto, in the conditions of the people living therein."

3. It is certain, that the pretended disorders and immoralities of the Monks, &c. (both with regard to their *number* and *enormity*) were most superlatively exaggerated and magnified beyond measure, by the *Visitor-General* and his most sagacious sin-questors. Every trifling *mole-hill* of a fault was by them very dexterously *magic-lanterned* into the size of a *mountain*; and every *peccadillio* with which the Religious could possibly be charged, was represented under the formidable appearance of a first-rate enormity. This is ingenuously confessed by D. *Heylin*, who fairly owns that the Visitors "‡ Represented their offences in such multiplying glasses, as made them seem both greater in *number*, and more horrid in *nature*, than indeed they were." —All which things considered, we may reasonably conclude, that the reports made by *Cromwel* and his emissaries in disfavour of the Religious, deserve but little notice, and less credit.——But,

4. "§ There is another heavier imputation laid upon the

† *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book VI. p. 316.
‡ *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 90.
§ *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. ii. p. 108.

Monks. They are charged with a crime of the most flagrant nature: that they were so far from any reserve or discretion in their licentiousness, *that some of their farms were let for bringing in a yearly tribute to their lusts.* [*Burnet's Hist. Ref.* Vol. i. p. 189.] This charge is reported [by *Burnet*] in such decisive language, that one would think the fact was beyond question. But *Fuller*, from whom the passage is taken, believes the story altogether improbable. He produces but a single instance, and has but an ill *vouchee* for the report. His evidence is only *Stephen Marshall*, the *Smectymnian* Divine. This man pretended to see an Abby-lease with such a provision. But then, all things considered, his testimony deserves but little credit in such depositions."

As for Mr. *Fuller*, (after all his laborious search) he fairly owns, "* It never was his hap to see a lease with such a *wanton reservation* in it."—And the reasons why he cannot be induced to believe any such thing are—1. "Because such a *turpis conditio* was null in the very making thereof. 2. Because the Abbots had more discretion than to suffer such an *act* to remain *in scriptis*, which, upon occasion, might publickly be produced against them."

The barbarous calumny being thus fairly confuted by Mr. *Fuller* himself, it may not be improper, we presume, to extend our inquiry a little farther, in order to place in its proper light the *character* of the vile author of it.

Mr. *Collier* has indeed concealed this *notorious enthusiast* from the knowledge of the generality of his readers, under the soft title of a *Smectymnian Divine*. But the author of *Mercurius Rusticus* (p. 16) writes with less reserve. He strips the wolf of his sheep's cloathing, and exposes him to public view in his own natural garb and colours. "*Stephen Marshall*," says he, "was parson of *Finchingfield*, in *Essex*, the great incendiary of the unhappy civil wars."—In another place, (viz. p. 238) he styles him *the Archflamen of the Rebels*. And D. *Heylin* characters him a *principal zealot in the cause of Presbytery*.—See an instance of this man's frantic zeal for *that cause*, in the *Appendix*, No. XIII. And the cabalistic word *Smectymnuus* explained in the same *Appendix*, No. XIV.

We shall conclude this section with the following remarks: First, that Bp. *Burnet* must certainly have been (to make use of his own expression) *a man of an undaunted*

* *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book VI. p. 318.

conscience; otherwise it is impossible to conceive how he could ever have had the courage to propagate scandal (and that too in the most *decisive language*) to the latest posterity, merely upon the strength (or rather weakness) of hear-say evidence; which, in common courts of judicature, goes for nothing, and, in short, is no evidence at all.

Secondly, we would advise all those good-natured writers, who, *Burnet* like, take a malignant kind of pleasure in discovering monastic immoralities, to lay their hands upon their breasts, and consider in sober earnest, 'Whether the Church of *England* Bishops and Clergy may be thought the properest persons in the world *to throw the first stone?*' Are they more guarded in their *conduct*, more chaste in their *lives*, more exemplar in their *behaviour*, more circumspect in their *words*, more edifying in their *actions*, more moderate in their *diet*, more temperate in their *cups*, more punctual in the *service of God*, and more detached from the *pleasures* and *vanities* of this world, than the *Monks* of old? Are they more addicted to contemplation, prayer, fasting, mortification, self-denial, meekness, and humility, than all the *Religious Orders* put together? Does their charity to the poor, their *hospitality*, unfeigned devotion, and strict regularity, exceed whatever has been formerly practised in our *Monasteries?* If little or nothing of all this can be pleaded in their behalf, with justice and truth, what will it avail them, or any of them, to rail eternally against the Monks, and satirize the conduct of Religious Houses? What will it avail them, to be employed in the dirty business of discovering *spots* upon *Religious Habits*, if their own *prunella* be not, perhaps, entirely free from *dirt!* Alas! how easy a matter is it, to discern a *mote* in our brother's eye! how hard to discover a *beam* in our own!

Motive IV. The Monks were a set of idle, ignorant drones; neither cultivating learning themselves, nor promoting it amongst others.—*Answer.* This insipid cavil is repeated over and over again by Bp. *Burnet*, in his tedious *History of the Reformation*, where, to give the man his due, he seldom fails to embrace every opportunity that offers him the slightest hint, to declaim against *monkish ignorance*. To give an instance: he has the effrontery to assure his reader, that "† The Monks being settled, gave themselves up to idleness and pleasure, having in their hands the chief

† *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* Vol. I. p. 22.

encouragements to learning, and yet doing nothing towards it; but, on the contrary, decrying it, and disparaging it all they could."

But (without taking notice that there is nothing more common with this romantic Historiographer, than to fail both in *truth* and *temper*) we can promise him a full and satisfactory answer to his groundless objection, from authors less prejudiced, and therefore more candid and dispassionate than himself. And thus does the famous Antiquary, Mr. *Thomas Hearn*, apologize for the Monks, in point of illiteracy.

"† Besides their immorality, there was," says he, "another objection, which was urged against the Monks with no less vehemence; and that was, their want of learning. The Visitors thought that charge would conduce very much to diminish their credit and reputation. But alas! this charge was really as *groundless* and *weak* as the former. No body doubts that the Monasteries had divers members that could not be stiled *learned*. But when we discourse of *learned bodies*, these ought not to be considered; at least their ignorance ought not to be look'd upon as sufficient to denominate them *unlearned*. Add to this, that sometimes those illiterate persons were *eminent* upon some other account, and consequently might prove very serviceable to the Monasteries. After all, 'tis very certain, that a great number of the Monks were men of very *profound learning*, and of *extraordinary abilities*. Had they been otherwise, it is impossible to account for the *incredible number* of books written by them. No one that reads either *Boston* of *Bury*, or *Leland*, or other writers that say any thing of their writings, can justly suppose them to have been *illiterate men*. On the contrary, many of their writings are *very judicious*, and *full of learning*; nay, in some parts of learning they exceeded any of our moderns; which is an argument, not only of *excellent parts*, but of their constant and unwearied *diligence* and *application*."

"‡ The *English* Monks," says a Church Historian, "were bookish of themselves, and much inclined to hoard up monuments of learning. *Britain*, (we know) is stiled *another world*, and in this contradistinction (tho' incomparably less in quantity) acquits itself in proportion of famous

† *Hearn's Preliminary Observ. on Mr. Browne Willis's View of the Mitred Abbies.*

‡ *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* B. vi. pp. 334, 335.

writers, producing almost as many classical schoolmen for her natives, as all *Europe* besides. Other excellent books of foreign authors were brought hither, purchased at dear rates, if we consider the press (which now runs so incredibly fast) was at that age in her infancy, newly able to go alone, there being then few printed books, in comparison of the many manuscripts. These, if carefully collected, and methodically compiled, would have amounted to a library, exceeding that of *Ptolemy*'s for plenty, or many *Vaticans* for choiceness and rarity. Yea, had they been transported beyond the seas, sent over, and sold entire to such who knew their value, and would preserve them, *England*'s loss had been *Europe*'s gain, and the detriment the less to learning in general. Yea, many years after, the *English* might have repurchased for pounds what their grandfathers sold for fewer pence into foreign parts. But alas! those Abbies were now sold to such chapmen, in whom it was questionable whether their *ignorance* or *avarice* were greater, and they made havock and destruction of all.—The covers of books, with curious brass bosses and clasps, intended to protect, proved to betray them, being the baits of covetousness. And so many excellent authors, stript out of their cases, were left naked, to be burnt or thrown away.—But hear how *John Bale*, a man sufficiently averse from the least shadow of Popery, hating all Monkery with a perfect hatred, complained hereof to King *Edward* VI. 'Never had we been offended,' says he, 'for the loss of our libraries, being so many in number, and in so desolate places, for the more part, if the chief monuments and most notable works of our most excellent writers had been reserved. If there had been in every shire in *England* but one solemn library to the preservation of those most noble works, and preferment of good learning in our posterity, it had been somewhat. But to destroy all, without consideration, is, and will be, unto *England*, for ever, a most horrible infamy, among the grave seniors of other nations. A great number of them which purchased those superstitious mansions, reserved those library books, some to serve their jokes, some to scour their candlesticks, and to rub their boots. Some they sold to the grocers and soapsellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders; not in small numbers, but at times whole ships full, to the wondering of foreign nations. Yea, the Universities of this realm are not all clear in this detestable fact. But cursed is that belly which seeketh to be fed with such ungodly gains, and so

deeply shameth his natural country. I know a merchantman, which shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for 40 shillings price: a shame it is to be spoken This stuff hath he occupied instead of gray paper by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example this, and to be abhorred of all men which love their nation as they should do. Yea, what may bring our realm to more shame and rebuke, than to have it noised abroad that we are despisers of learning? I judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness, that neither the *Britons* under the *Romans* and *Saxons*, nor yet the *English* people under the *Danes* and *Normans*, had ever such damage of their learned monuments, as we have seen in our time. Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our age, this unreasonable spoil of *England*'s most noble antiquities.'——Now what soul can be so frozen (continues Mr. *Fuller*) as not to melt into anger hereat? What heart, having the least spark of ingenuity, is not hot at this indignity offered to literature? I deny not but in this heap of books there was much rubbish.—But, besides these, what beautiful Bibles, rare Fathers, subtile Schoolmen, useful Historians, ancient, middle, modern; what painful comments were here amongst them, what monuments of mathematicks, all massacred together; seeing every Book with a *Cross* was condemn'd for *Popish*, with *Circles*, for *Conjuring!*—And more particularly the history of former times, then and there, received a dangerous wound, whereof it halts to this day; and without hope of a perfect cure, must go a cripple to the grave!"

"* The Monks," says another writer, "were formerly the greater part of Ecclesiasticks, and the walls of Convents were, for a long time, the fences of sanctity and the better sort of literature. From that seminary came forth those mighty Lights of the Christian world, *Bede*, *Alcuinus*, *Willebrord*, *Boniface*, and others, worthy of much honour for their learning, and for propagating the faith. Were it not for the Monks, we had certainly ever been children in the history of our own country. Many ill consequences attended the Suppression of Religious Houses; but it is my design at present to take notice only of the great decay of learning that was like to ensue the dissolution; insomuch, that in Parliaments held 2 and 3 *Edw.* VI. there were Bills

* *Mr. Marsham's Pref. to Dug. Mon.*

brought in for encouraging men to give lands for the maintenance of schools of learning. And the loss of good books was irreparable, as *Bale* honestly tells us.— *Bale*, one of the most bitter enemies the Monks ever had, is forced to lament the great damage the learned world sustained at this dissolution. Indeed, those well furnished libraries, that were in most Monsteries, plainly show, that we are too much prejudiced against the Monks, when we rashly condemn them as *idle, ignorant,* or *discouragers of learning;* and that, on the contrary, we ought to esteem many of them to be *learned* and *industrious,* and *promoters* of several useful parts of knowledge. In every Abby there was a large room, called the *Scriptorium,* to which belonged several writers, whose business it was to transcribe books for the use of the public library of the House. There were no less than 1700 manuscript tracts in the library at *Peterborough,* and the catalogue of books belonging to the Priory of *Dover*, and the Abby of S. *Mary de la Pre,* at *Leicester*, clearly evince that those Houses had no mean libraries, and those kept in very good order. Nay, so zealous were the Monks for the *encouragement* of learning, that they very often got churches appropriated *ad libros faciendos,* for making of books ; nor were they less careful in preserving the old. The *British, Irish,* and *Saxon* Monasteries, we find, were the Schools and Universities of those times. They were not only cells of devotion, but also nurseries of learned men for the use of the Church. The works of *Bede* are a sufficient argument of the knowledge the Monks of those times had in all parts of learning. Their skill in the learned languages was so very eminent, that 'tis reported some of them understood *Greek* and *Latin* as well as their mother tongue. When the Monks were rooted out by the *Danish* wars, an universal ignorance overspread the land, insomuch that there was scarce any one in *England* that could read or write *Latin;* but when, by the care of King *Edward* and Archbishop *Dunstan*, Monasteries were restored, learning found its former encouragement, and flourished very much within the walls of cloisters. So that *Leland,* who was no great friend to the Monks, often confesses, that in those old times there were few or no writers but Monks."

Now from these fair testimonials of the *unprejudiced,* it plainly appears that the Monks were men of *extraordinary abilities,* of *profound learning* themselves, and great *promoters* of it in others. And as for the *prejudiced,* they have but little reason to be *surprised,* that the Monks should leave

so few traces of literature behind them! For whose fault was that? Or how could it possibly be otherwise, when the total suppression of the Religious Houses was followed by a total destruction of all the monastic literary remains that were any where to be found?

But is it not much more *surprising*, that after several cargoes of *valuable manuscripts*, &c. had been shipped for foreign parts, (not to mention such as were lamentably destroyed at home) is it not, I say, something still more surprising, that *the man with the undaunted conscience* (in which expression Bp. *Burnet* has drawn his own picture) should not blush to tell the world in print, that *the Monks did nothing towards the advancement of learning, but, on the contrary, decried and disparaged it all they could?*

But let it be remembered, that those who *decry* and *disparage* the monks for the want of erudition, can be no great conjurers in history; and that, while they declaim against *monkish ignorance*, they only betray their *own*.

Motive V. It was pretended, that the small Societies were not so capable of *Reformation* as the great ones.—*Answer*. The reverse of this pretence happens to be the very truth. For we see no reason to suppose or assert, that the *little Houses*, (as Mr. *Fuller* facetiously expresses it) like *little fishes*, slipt through the *meshes*, and were not to be caught in the *net of Reformation*. But to be serious.

"† 'Tis somewhat *strange*, discipline should be most insignificant, where there were fewest to be governed and infect the rest; and that no regulation could be of force enough to keep a few people within compass."

On the contrary, it is evident, from the nature of the thing, that less time and labour are requisite to go through the *Reformation* of a small, than of a numerous society. And for the truth of this remark, we appeal to common sense.

But it is farther objected by some, that corruptions had, by degrees, not only crept into the *Houses*, but into the very *Rules* of the Religious Orders. To which we answer, that in the *Preamble to the Act for dissolving the lesser Houses*, no mention is made of any such corruptions in the Religious Institutions. It is true, indeed, that in the *Form of Surrender* the Religious are compelled to plead guilty of *abusing the*

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. ii. p. 114.

Rules of their Profession: but neither in the body of that *instrument*, nor in the abovementioned *preamble*, do we meet with any thing, directly or indirectly, urged against the *Monastic Rules* themselves; which certainly would not have been omitted, in case there had been any foundation for so material an impeachment.

After all, the abuse of a rule is no argument against the goodness or sanctity of it. For may not the best and most sacred things in the world be depraved, corrupted, or abused? If the *abuse* of a thing is sufficient to discard the *use* of it, the argument proves too much. It is a ridiculous prevarication, and goes against every thing.

Motive VI. The Religious made a *Voluntary Resignation* of their Houses and Possessions into the King's Hands.—*Answer.* This is expressly contradicted by all our Historians of any considerable character and figure. To produce a few instances.

1. Mr. *Fuller* has already told us, that *all the Monasteries, excepting* Christ Church *Priory, (whatever may be pretended to the contrary) were taken by storm:* and that the Religious were given to understand, that all their surrenders *might and would be done without their consent.*

2. Sir *William Dugdale* has likewise assured us, that *what could not be effected by fair promises, was by terror and severe dealing brought to pass.* And moreover, that *there was no omission of any endeavour* [whether of force or fraud] *that can well be imagined, to accomplish these surrenders.*

3. Sir *Henry Spelman*, in the Preface to his Treatise *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*, informs us, that "With some he [*Cromwel*] prevailed by entreaty and good annuities, with others by the King's power and sword. For the Abbots of *Glassenbury*, *Reading*, and *Colchester*, whose innocence had made them regardless of threats, and their piety abhor rewards, to betray their Churches, were, as enemies to the State, condemn'd and hang'd. Others, terrified by their examples, leave all to the disposal of the King."

4. Lord *Herbert* relates, that "† After the Visitation of the Religious Houses by Commissioners from the King, divers of the Commissioners did petition the King, that some of the Houses, both for the vertue of the persons in

† *Lord Herbert's Life of K. Henry VIII. p.* 442.

them, and the benefit of the country, (the poor receiving thence great relief, and the richer sort good education for their children,) might be left, in every shire, for pious uses; but *Cromwell*, by the King's permission, invaded all; whilst, betwixt *threats*, *gifts*, *promises*, *persuasions*, and whatever might make a man obnoxious, he obtained of the Abbots, Abbesses, &c.' that their Houses might be given up."

In fine, whatever sham-motives might be divulged, in order to inveigle or amuse the populace, it is certain "*King *Henry*, and his *covetous* and *ambitious* agents, all aimed at the *revenues* and *riches* of the Religious Houses. For which reason, no *arts* or *contrivances* were to be passed by, that might be of use in obtaining their ends. The most *abominable* crimes were charged upon the Religious, and the charge was to be managed with the utmost *industry*, *boldness*, and *dexterity*. This was a powerful argument to draw an odium upon them, and to make them disrespected and ridiculed by the generality of mankind. And yet, after all, the proofs were so insufficient, that, from what I have been able to gather, I have not found any direct one against even any *single* Monastery. The sins of *one* or *two* particular persons do not make a *Sodom*. Neither are *violent* and *forced* confessions to be esteem'd as the true results of any one's thoughts. When, therefore, even these *artifices* would not do, the *last expedient* was put in execution, and that was *ejection by force:* and to make the *innocent sufferers* the more content, pensions were settled upon many; and such pensions were, in some measure, proportion'd to their innocence. Thus by degrees, the Religious Houses, and the estates belonging to them, being surrender'd to the King, he either sold or gave them to the *lay Nobility* and *Gentry*, contrary to what he had at first pretended, and so they have continued ever since; tho' not without visible effects of *God's vengeance* and *displeasure*, there having been direful *anathemas* and *curses* denounced by the founders upon such as should presume to *alienate* the lands, or do any other *voluntary* injury to the *Religious Houses*. I could myself produce instances of the *strange* and *unaccountable* decay of some Gentlemen in my own time, otherwise persons of very great *piety* and *worth*, who have been possess'd of *Abby-lands;* but this would be *invidious* and *offensive*, and therefore I shall only refer those that are desirous of having instances

* *Mr. Hearn loco sup. cit.*

laid before them, to show what *dismal consequences* have happen'd to Sir *Henry Spelman's History of Sacrilege*, publish'd in 8vo. in 1698."

We shall conclude our *Answer* to this *Motive*, with a flagrant instance of a *forced surrender*, practised upon the *Benedictine* Nuns of *Godstow* by D. *London*. This pragmatical busy-body being dispatched to take the surrender of that Nunnery, and finding the Abbess incompliant, made no difficulty to tell her, that because he found her obstinate, he would dissolve the Monastery in *spite of her teeth*. Of the absurdity of this insolent Visitor's conduct upon that occasion, the Abbess very justly, (tho' frustraneously) complains in a Letter to Lord *Cromwell*, still extant, and thus worded.

' Pleasith it your Honor, with my most humble dowtye, to be advertised, that when it haith pleasyd your Lordship to be the verie meane to the King's Majestie for my preferment, most unworthie, to be Abbes of this the King's Monasterie of *Godystowe*, in the which office I trust I have done the best in my power to the mayntenance of God's trewe honor, with all treuth and obedience to the King's Majestie, and was never moved or desired, by any creature, in the King's behalfe, or in your Lordship's name, to surrender and give up the House; nor was never mynded or intended so to do, otherwise than at the King's gracious commandment or yours. To the which I do and have ever done, and will submit myself most humblie and obedientlie. And I trust to God, that I have never offendyd God's law, neither the King's, whereby that this poor Monasterie ought to be suppressed. And this notwithstanding, my good Lord, so it is, that D. *London*, which, (as your Lordship doth well know) was agaynst my promotion, and hath ever since borne me great malys and grudge, like my mortall enemye, is sodenlie cummyd unto me with a greate rowte with him, and here doth threten me and my Sisters, saying that he hath the King's Commission to suppress this House, *spyte of my tethe*. And when he saw that I was not contente that he should do all things according to his commission, and shewyd him plaine that I wolde never surrender to his hande, being my awncyent enemye; he now begins to intreat me, and to invegle my sisters, one by one, otherwise than ever I herde tell that the King's Subjects hath been handelyd, and here taryeth and contynueth to my great coste and charges, and will not take my answere, that I will not surrender till I know the King's gracious com-

mandment or your Lordship's. Therefore I most humblie beseche you to contynue my good Lord, as you ever have bene, and to directe your honourable letters to remove him hens. And whensoever the King's gracious commandment, or your's, shall come to me, you shall find me most reddie, and obeydiant to folloe the same. And notwithstanding that D. *London*, like an untrew man, hath informed your Lordship, that I am a spoiler and waster, your good Lordship shall know, that the contrary is trewe, for I have not alienatyd one halporthe of goods of this Monasterie, moveable or unmoveable, but have rather increased the same; nor ever made lease of any farme or peece of grownde belongyng to this House; or than ever have been in times paste, alwaies set under the Covent Seal for the weal of the House. And therefore my verie truste is, that I shall fynd the King as gracious a Lorde unto me, as he is to all other his subjects; seeyng I have not offended; and am and will be moste obedyent to his most gracious commandment at all tymes, with the grace of Almighty *Jesus*, who ever preserve you in honour, longe to endure to his pleasure. *Amen.*—*Godistou*, ye 5 Daie of *Nov.*

'Your most bownden Beeds Woman,

'Katharine Bulkeley, Abbes there.'

Of this same D. *London* we have already taken notice from Mr. *Fuller*, what a vile perjured wretch he was, and how fit to be employed to insult *Religious Ladies*. But neither the infamy of this miscreant, nor the virtue of the Nuns, availed the Monastery. The *instrument* was fit for the *work* he had to do; and those that made use of him, [King *Henry* and Lord *Cromwell*] had no occasion for a better.

Motive VII. For the Suppression of the Chanteries, &c. *the Danger of the Priests and Governors frustrating the pious Donations*, was pretended.—*Answer.* This is but a lame excuse at the best. For how can it be imagined there should be no laws then in being, or that none could be enacted strong enough to curb such *Priests* and *Governors*, and to keep them under proper regulations and restraints? But, in reality, there was no reason why the King should dive so deep into politics, for a *pretence* to destroy these Religious Settlements with the rest, when the *real motive* swims upon the surface. The truth of the matter, in short, is this.

The Religious Houses (both *little* and *great*) havingbeen

swallowed up in the bottomless *vortex* of the King's *necessities*, (and these continually increasing) nothing now remained, as a farther supply to them, but the Chanteries, Free-Chapels, Colleges, Hospitals, Fraternities, Guilds, and the maintenance for stipendiary Priests, with the lands and estates settled upon them. All which had formerly been founded upon such *considerations*, as neither the King nor the Parliaments of those times disavowed, and much less condemned.

However, upon the first parliamentary summons, these were all surrendered to his Majesty, sacrificed to the Crown, and dissolved for ever, by virtue of a statute, which (right or wrong) "† Chargeth misdemeanors on the Priests and Governors, that of their own authority, as Governors of the aforesaid Chanteries, without the assent of their Patrons, Donors, or Founders, they had let leases for lives, or term of years, of the said lands, &c. contrary to the will and purposes of their Founders, to the great contempt of *Authority Royal.*—Wherefore the Parliament puts the King and his successors for ever in the real and actual possession of such Chanteries, &c."

"‡ Now with great submission to the wisdom of the Legislature, some people would almost be at a loss upon this occasion: for when prayer for the dead was reckon'd a significant service: when this Prince, in his last will, left money to pray for his soul: when this was the general persuasion, it is somewhat surprising, that Chantery-lands should be taken away! The Chantery-lands, I say, which were given for the benefit of the dead, and settled, as it were, upon the *other world!*"

Indeed, nothing had hitherto so much exposed the unreasonableness of the King's proceedings, and the inconsistency of his conduct, as this fact of his laying violent hands upon Chanteries and Free-Chapels. The obligations annexed to these places (as we have elsewhere observed) were daily sacrifices and prayers, offered up to God, for the relief of the deceased Founders and of all the Faithful departed, for ever. And this *primitive practice* the King not only acknowledged to be beneficial to the dead in general, but moreover *instantly* desired, that the same, after his departure, might particularly be performed *for the remission of his offences, and the wealth of his soul*, as I find it ex-

† *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book vi. p. 350. See also *Stat.* 38. H. 8. c. 4.
‡ *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. iii. p. 207.

pressed in his last will and testament. A copy of which (as far as it concerns religious matters) may be seen in the *Appendix*, No. XV.

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§ 10.—*The* Fruits *of K.* Henry VIII.*'s Reformation.*

HAVING recited *the transactions of K.* Henry the Eighth *in quality of Supreme Head of the Church*, with all the brevity that could well be expected in so copious a subject, we shall conclude the whole with some account of the *consequences*, the *effects*, the *fruits* of his ever memorable *deeds of undoing*.

It is not our intention to enumerate every particular calamity or disaster which this unhappy Monarch brought upon the Church; neither is it necessary so to do; especially since they are all reducible to the following *general heads*, viz. a deplorable *confusion* in matters of religion, and a general *corruption* of Christian Morality.

Of the sad *confusion* which was, about this time, introduced into Religion, Mr. *Fox*, (p. 1037) has left us the following plaintive description. "To many who be yet alive, it is not unknown how *variable* the state of Religion stood in those days; how hardly, and with what difficulty it came forth; what chances and changes it suffered, even as the King was ruled and gave ear, sometimes to one, sometimes to another. So one while it went forward, at another season as much backward again; sometime clean altered and changed for a season, according as they could prevail who were about the King. So long as Queen *Ann* [*Bullen*] lived, the Gospel [he means the *new Gospel*] had indifferent success. After that she, by sinister instigation of some about the King, was made away [i. e. beheaded for *adultery* and *incest*] the course of the Gospel, [*alias* the Reformation] began again to decline; but the Lord opportunely stirred up the Lord *Cromwell* [*ridiculous cant!*] in that behalf, who did much for the increase of God's true religion [not that he cared a straw for any religion while he continued in power] and much more had he brought to perfection, if the pestilent adversaries had not supplanted his *vertuous* proceedings. After the taking away of which *Cromwell*, the state of Religion [meaning the *new Religion*] more and more decayed, during all the residue of the reign

of King *Henry*."——Now, since a fit opportunity offers itself, we beg leave to propose the following queries: 1. Whether the plundering and demolishing of Religious Houses, Churches, Chapels, Altars, &c. with other abominable sacrileges, committed without number by the Lord *Cromwel*, can *properly* be styled *vertuous proceedings?* 2. Whether any body but *John Fox*, the fabulous Martyr-monger, had ever front enough to style them so?

Conclude we this subject of *Variations* in Religion, with a word or two more from *Baker*'s Chronicle, p. 408.—— "And now," says he, "was the state of Religion come to a strange *pass*, because always in *passing*, and had no consistence. For at first, the *authority* of the Pope was excluded in *some* cases only, awhile after in *all*. Afterwards his *doctrine* came to be impugned; but yet in some *few* points only; a while after, in *many*. That the fable of *Proteus* might be no longer a fable, when the Religion of *England* might be its true *moral*."

From this observation, and Mr. *Fox*'s complaint, it plainly appears, that the *new Gospel*, in the days of *old King Harry*, was in a very fluctuating and uncertain state: that it underwent several *chances* and *changes*: that it sometimes went *forward*, sometimes *backward*: that it was *in* or *out* of favour, according to the capriciousness of that wilful Monarch, or the private views of those that were (*pro tempore*) in possession of the royal ear: that, in fine, altho' the respective views of King *Henry*, *Ann Bullen*, and *Cromwel*, might be, in some regards, different, yet they all agreed in the main; which was, to advance the Reformation (as Mr. *Fox* expresses it) *upon politick respects*.

In a word, no sooner had King *Henry* broke the ice, than *new Gospelers* presently started up in almost every city, town, and village in *England*; whose uncouth preachments, &c. occasioned so many alterations in points of faith; such a diversity of opinions, and such chopping and changing in religious sentiments,

> "*As if Religion was intended*
> *For nothing else but to be mended.*"

Indeed, ever since the reign of King *Henry* VIII. our busy Reformers have been constantly employed *in turning and patching the Church*; but to what purpose, it will be a hard matter to discover, unless it may be reckoned an advantage, to be always upon the *change*, and never at a *stand*.

Even we ourselves have lived to see proposals offered to the public by the authors of the *Candid Disquisition*, for a farther and still purer Reformation of the present Liturgy of the Church of *England*. Nay, which is more, we have lived to see (besides a new Reformation lately imported from *Moravia*) a new set of Reformers make their appearance at home, under the queer denomination of *Methodists*. And what other religious oddity may tread upon the heels of *Methodism*, those that come after us may expect to see. For, of Reformations there can be no end, as long as it is possible for the wit of man to strike out *new Lights* in Religion, or to mistake *Religious Whims* for *Gospel Truths*. In fine, the Reformation (like all other *human inventions*) must and will be always subject and liable to perpetual *variations*. To be always *passing* and never *consistent*, has been for these many years, and still is, the deplorable state of *The Religion of England*. ——Now to our *Morals*.

When we seriously consider the viciousness and depravity of the present age, we shall find but *slender motives* to value ourselves upon the mighty advantages we have gained by the introduction of new *modes of Faith* amongst us; and as *little reason* to suppose that a *multiplicity* of new religions has contributed any thing towards the *sanctity* of our lives. In a word, we need not run after new Gospellers to be taught better manners. *Erasmus* has observed, in his time, that those who changed sides, and relinquished the *old* to embrace the *new* Religion, were always the worse for *changing*. —"* Take a view," says he, "of this Evangelical People, and see whether they are less addicted to luxury, wantonness, or avarice, than those whom you detest. Bring me one, if you can, who by this *Gospel* has been reclaimed from drunkenness to sobriety, from fury and passion to meekness, from avarice to liberality, from reviling to well-speaking, from wantonness to modesty. I will show you a great many, who are become worse thereby than ever they were. Perhaps it is my misfortune, but I never yet met with one, who does not appear changed for the worse."

To conclude, what great matter had K. *Henry* VIII. to boast of after all, in quality of a Reformer? What did the sum total of all his *Transactions as Supreme Head of the Church* amount to? Why, truly, to nothing more than this: That he had unfortunately opened a gap to let in

* *Vid. Eras. Ep. ad Vulturium Neocomum.* A. 1529; and *Sleidan's Reformation*, B. vi. p. 122.

immorality, prophaneness, and *irreligion* amongst his subjects; and that he had laid a lasting foundation to perpetuate religious *discords* and *divisions* to the latest posterity. All which, it seems, his Majesty had the conscience to own, when he made his *last Speech to his Parliament.* See it (and some reflections upon it) in the *Appendix*, No. XVI.

THE DEEDS OF K. EDWARD VI. AS SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1. — *King* Edward *commences his Reformation with* Preparatory Injunctions... *What Catholic Bishops were deprived, &c. during this Reign.*

"* The solemnities of the Coronation being pass'd, the Grandees of the Court began to entertain some thoughts of a Reformation. To the advancement of which work, the conjuncture seemed to be as proper as they could desire. For the King being of such tender age, and wholly governed by the will of the Lord Protector, was easy to be moulded into any form. Wherefore it was thought fit to smooth the way to the intended Reformation, by setting out some *Preparatory Injunctions.*"

It is indeed pretended, in the Preface prefixed to them, that they were designed *for the suppression of Idolatry and Superstition, and the extirpation of enormities and abuses.* But this was a mere blind, a false alarm; the true and real intention of the project being, to clear all Churches and Chapels of the offensive incumbrances of altars, and of all such valuable ornaments and rich utensils as had been, in former times, dedicated to the service of God by their respective Donors, Benefactors, and Founders. In a word, costly hangings, silver candlesticks, and embroider'd copes and vestments, were the intolerable *enormities* which these *Preparatory Injunctions* were destinated to extirpate and reform. How effectually they answered this end, we shall see by and by. In the mean time, we propose to take into consideration the

* *Heylin's Hist. Ref. An.* 1. *Ed. VI.*

case of the Catholic Bishops, which, according to Mr. *Strype*'s account of it, stood thus.

"*This year 1549, *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, was examined before the Council, for several matters of *contempt of the King's orders*, when the Archbishop [*Cranmer*] pronounced sentence of deprivation against him, and committed him to the *Marshalsea;* and there he abode all this King's reign.

"The next year, *Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, was deprived by *Cranmer*, and sent to the Tower, *because he would not apply himself to advance the King's Majesty's proceedings.*

"† Anno 1550, *Heath*, Bishop of *Worcester*, was deprived, and sent to the *Fleet*, *for refusing to assist in compiling the ordinal.*

"The same year *Day*, Bishop of *Chichester*, was deprived and committed to the *Fleet*, because he would not comply with the orders of the council, which were, *that he should demolish all the altars within his diocese, and erect communion tables in their stead.*" Mr. *Collier* is a little more explicit in his account of this Prelate's commitment. He reports, that Bp. *Day* was obliged to appear twice before the Council; and that upon his second appearance, this was his final answer:—"‡He told them, he could by no means prevail with himself to act against his conscience. That if there was no help for it, he thought it a less evil to suffer the body to perish, than to destroy the soul.——This answer being construed contempt, he was committed to the *Fleet*, by order of the whole board."

"§ *Anno* 1551, *Vesey*, Bishop of *Exeter*, was deposed, or, as some say, resigned his Bishoprick, and retired from publick business."—And notwithstanding that this Prelate, as Mr. *Collier* assures us, *was no friend to the Reformation*, nevertheless, either his own good luck, or the solicitation of his good friends, procured him his *quietus.* And thus he continued unmolested to the end of this reign.

"‖ Last of all, in 1552, Bishop *Tonstal* was committed prisoner to the Tower, and his estate confiscated, ¶ *for refusing to receive the King's injunctions*," says another

* *Strype's Memorials of the Life of Archbishop Cranmer*, p. 189.
† *Ibid.* pp. 225, 226.
‡ *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. Book iv. p. 306.
§ *Strype's Memorials of, etc.* p. 267.
‖ *Ibid.* p. 288.
¶ *Buk. Chron.* p. 304.

historian. And for these weighty reasons of state, were the Catholic Prelates "committed to prison, and all of them dispossessed of their Bishopricks. And that which was worse, the Bishopricks themselves were dispossessed of their revenues, in such sort, that a very small part remain'd to the Bishops that came after."

Now this was the very thing our Court-Reformers aimed at. For what concern could they be supposed to have, for such as were to *come after*, while they, in the mean time, enjoyed the *revenues* of so many *dispossessed Bishoprics*, and wallowed in the riches of a plundered Church?

But leaving these gentry in the height of their jollity, and the Catholic Bishops in *limbo*, let us cast an eye upon busy *Cranmer*, now strutting at the head of the *New Gospelers*.

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§ 2.—Cranmer *takes out a* Commission *to exercise the Jurisdiction and Authority of an Archbishop*, during the King's Pleasure... *Mr.* Collier's *Reflections upon this Transaction; and his Answer to Bp.* Burnet's *ridiculous* Parallel.

"† Cranmer being now delivered from that too awful subjection he had been held under by King *Henry*, resolved to go on more vigorously."—He had gone on vigorously enough against the Catholic Prelates; but the vigour of his mind, together with his natural courage, seem to have deserted him entirely, when the *Archbishop*, the *Primate*, the *Metropolitan*, dwindled into the paltry *Commissary*. To set this matter in a proper light, it will be necessary to observe, that

In the beginning of this reign, the *Edwardian* Prelates were required and enjoined, by the Privy Council, to take out new *commissions*, and to hold their *Bishoprics*, and their *Episcopal Jurisdiction* too, *during the King's pleasure.*

Cranmer, says Mr. *Collier*, *set the first precedent, and petitioned for a revival of his jurisdiction, which he supposed terminated with the death of the late King.*

But Mr. *Strype*, in his *Memorials* of the Life of this Archbishop, appears to be more circumstantial and precise

† *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* Vol. II. p. 25.

in relating this momentous affair; for which reason we judged it might not be improper to lay his account of it before the Reader.

"† One of the very first things that was done in young King *Edward the Sixth*'s reign, in relation to the Church, was, that the Bishops, who had the care of ecclesiastical matters, and the souls of men, should be made to depend entirely upon the King and his Council, and to be subject to *suspension* from their office, and to have their whole *Episcopal Power* taken from them at his pleasure; which might serve as a bridle, in case they should oppose the proceedings of the Reformation. In this, I suppose, the Archbishop had his hand: for it was his judgment, that the exercise of all *Episcopal Jurisdiction* depended upon the Prince; and that, as *he gave it*, so he might *restrain* it, at his pleasure. And therefore he began this matter with himself, petitioning, 'That as he had exercised the authority of an Archbishop in the reign of the former King; so that the authority ending with his life, it would please the present King *Edward* to commit unto him that power again.' For it seemed that he would not act as Archbishop till he had a new *commission* from the new King for so doing. And that this was his judgment, appeared in the first words of the *commission* granted to him: in the composing of which, I make no question he had his hand. '*Quando quidem omnis jurisdicendi Authoritas, atque etiam Jurisdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ Ecclesiastica dicitur quam Sæcularis, a Regia Potestâte, velut a Supremo Capite, ac omnium Magistratuum infra Regnum nostrum fonte ac scaturigine, primitus emanaverit*, &c. that is, since all authority of exercising Jurisdiction, and also all kind of Jurisdiction, as well that which is called Ecclesiastical as Secular, originally hath flowed from the King's Power, as from the Supreme Head, and the Fountain and Source of all Magistracy within our Kingdom: We therefore in this part yielding to your humble supplication, and consulting for the good of our subjects, have determined to commit *our place* to you, under the manner and form hereunder described.' And then the King licensed him ‡ *To ordain within his Diocese*, and to promote and present to Ecclesiastical Benefices, and to institute and invest; and, if occasion required, to deprive, to prove testaments, and the rest of the business of his Court.

† *Strype's Memorials, p.* 141.

‡ See a copy of *Cranmer's Ordination Faculties*, in the Appendix, No. XVII.

And so all the rest of his offices were reckon'd. This was dated *Feb.* 7, 1546. But yet all these things were committed to him with a Power of revocation of the exercise of his authority reserved in the King, and *durante beneplacito.* Thus a formal *commission* was made to him: and hence I find that the Archbishop, in some of his writings, is stiled, *The Commissary of our dread Sovereign King* Edward."

Thus did the courageous D. *Cranmer* (Bp. *Burnet*'s *Athanasius*) meanly submit to hold both his *See* and his *Episcopal Authority* during the King's pleasure. And thus did he resign and exchange the ancient, illustrious, and venerable style of *Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England,* for the pitiful title of *The King's Commissary!*

This is Mr. *Strype*'s account of this lamentable affair; and it will not perhaps be unacceptable to the Reader, to be entertained with Mr. *Collier*'s reflections upon it.

"† That *Cranmer* addressed the Crown for this purpose, [*i. e.* for a new commission] and in the form abovementioned, we may reasonably conclude, from the singularity of his opinion, [*viz. That all manner of Authority and Jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the Crown.*] If this assertion holds good, the power of the *keys* must be lodged with the secular magistrate: and if so, what *independent* right can the Bishops have for the exercise of their function? How can they make any claim to a charter of government from our Saviour?"

Bp. *Burnet* answers, *that the person was no other way named by the King, than as lay-patrons present to livings.*—*Burnet's Hist. Ref.* Vol. II. p. 218.

"This," replies Mr. *Collier*, "is somewhat surprising. For did ever lay-patrons pretend to give a *commission* in their presentations, for the *exercise* of the priest's function? Does the *incumbent* govern his *cure,* and execute his *office,* in the patron's *name,* and by virtue of his *authority?* If this cannot be made good, the case is no ways *parallel.* For the Bishops, by the *Letters Patents,* were to give *orders,* and execute all the other branches of their *Spiritual Jurisdiction,* as the King's *Delegates,* and upon the strength of his *Authority.*"

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. iv. p. 219.

§ 3. — *The* Edwardian *Bishops are prevailed upon, by* Cranmer's *Example, to exchange their Charter of* Divine Institution *for* Letters Patents, *and to become the King's* Ecclesiastical Sheriffs... *The Form of a Bishop's* Letters Patents.

"† That which made the greatest alteration, and threaten'd most danger to the State Ecclesiastical, was the Act intitled, *An Act for the Election of Bishops*, and what *seals* and *stiles* shall be used by spiritual persons, &c. In which it was ordained, 'That no election be made of any Bishop by the *Dean and Chapter*, but that the King, by his *Letters Patents*, shall confer the same to any person whom he shall think meet.—That all Processes Ecclesiastical shall be made in the *name* and with the *stile* of the King. These likewise to be sealed with no other *seal* but the King's, or such as shall be authorised by him.'

"There was, continues our Historian, in the first branch [of this Act] more contain'd than did appear. For it seemed to aim at nothing, but that the Bishops should depend wholly upon the King for their preferment; yet the true drift of that design was, to make *Deans and Chapters* useless, and to prepare them for a dissolution.

"By the last branch, it was plain and evident, that the intent of the contrivers was, by degrees, to weaken the authority of the Episcopal Order, by forcing them from the strong hold of *Divine Institution*, and making them no other than the King's ministers only; his *Ecclesiastical Sheriffs*, as a man might say, to execute his will, and disperse his mandates. And of this Act such use was made, that the Bishops of those times were not in a capacity of *conferring Orders*, but as they were thereunto impowered by *Special Licence*. The tenor whereof was in these words, to wit:

'The King to such a Bishop, greeting.

'Whereas all and all manner of Jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, flows from the King, as the Supreme Head of all the body, &c. We, therefore, give and grant unto you full power and licence (to continue during our good pleasure) of *conferring Orders* within your diocese, and of promoting fit persons unto Holy Orders, even to that of Priesthood.'

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 51.

"Which being looked upon by Queen *Mary*, not only as a dangerous diminution of the Episcopal Power, but as likewise an odious innovation in the Church, she caused this Act to be repealed, in the first year of her reign; leaving the Bishops to depend on their former institution, and to act in all things which belonged to their jurisdiction, in their own *names*, and under their own *seals*."

Hard fate of the *Bishops of those times!* They could neither *confer Orders*, nor execute any one branch of the power belonging to their character or functions, without an express warrant from the chief temporal magistrate! Their *commissions* were clogged with an odious *durante beneplacito!* And this mortifying clause, *Quam diu bene se gesserint*, was inserted in the *Letters Patents* that *appointed* them to be Bishops; of which the following is a copy.

The Form of a Bishop's Letters Patents.

'† The King being informed of the good qualifications of ———, *appoints* him to be a Bishop, *so long as he shall behave himself well;* giving him power to *ordain* Ministers, to exercise *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, and to do all the other parts of the *Episcopal Function*.'—All which they were to execute and do in the King's name and authority.

Thus it plainly appears, that *Episcopacy* was actually reduced, in this reign, to the nature and condition of a *Patent Office* from the Crown. Not the least shadow of *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, no *free*, and much less *independent* exercise of the *Episcopal Functions* was left to my Lords the Bishops In short, nothing that properly belonged to them, *as Bishops*, remained undestroyed, unless the King had resolved to blot out the very *name;* which, at that juncture, was no impracticable thing. The Change of Bishops into *superintendants* or *elders*, (according to the style of *Geneva*) might, and most probably would have been effected, in case this Prince had chanced to live but a few years longer.

† *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* Vol. II. B. i. p. 218.

§ 4.—*Of the Depredations and Ravages committed upon* Bishoprics *in the Reign of King* Edward VI.

"† As the King was plunged in debt, without being put to extraordinary charges, so was he decayed in his revenue, without selling any part of the crown lands towards the payment of it. By the suppressing of some, and the surrendering of other Religious Houses, the *Royal Intrado* was so much increased in the late King's reign, that for the better managing of it, the King erected, first, *The Court of Augmentation*, and afterwards, *The Court of Surveyors*. But in a short time, by his own profuseness, and the avariciousness of this King's Ministers, it was so retrenched, that it was scarce able to find work enough for *the Court of Exchequer*. Whereupon followed the dissolving of the said *two Courts*, in the last Parliament of this King. Which, as it made a loud noise in the ears of the people, so did it put this jealousy into their minds, that if the King's lands should be thus daily wasted, without any recruit, he might at last prove burdensome to the common subject. Some course is therefore to be thought on, which might pretend to an increase of the King's revenue. And none more easy to be compassed, than to begin with the Suppression of such Bishopricks and Collegiate Churches, as either lay farthest off, or might be best spared.

"The Church of *Durham* was as liberally endowed as the most, and more amply privileged than the best in the kingdom. The Bishops thereof, by charter and long prescription, enjoying and exercising all the rights of a county palatine, in that large tract of ground which lies between the *Tees* and the *Tyne;* the Diocese including also all *Northumberland.*—No sooner was Bishop *Tonstal* committed to the Tower, but presently an eye was cast upon his *possessions;* which questionless had followed the same fortune with the *rest of the Bishopricks*, if one, more powerful than the rest, had not preserved them from being parcelled out, *as the others were*, on a strong confidence of getting them all to himself.

"After this the Earl of *Northumberland*, to preserve himself, gave unto the King the greatest part of his inheritance; and dying without children not long after, left his titles also to the King's disposing. The lands and titles being thus fallen to the Crown, continued undisposed of till the fall of

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 132.

the Duke of *Somerset*, when *Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, being created Duke of *Northumberland*, doubted not but he should be able to possess himself, in short time also, of all the lands of that family. To which estate the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and all the lands belonging to it, would make a fair addition; upon which grounds, the Bishoprick of *Durham* being dissolved by Act of Parliament, under pretence of patching up the King's revenue, the greatest part of the lands thereof were kept together, that they might serve for a revenue for the future Palatine. But all these projects failed in the death of the King, and the subsequent death of this great Duke in the following reign of Queen *Mary*."

But tho' this opulent Bishopric was providentially preserved from being *parcelled out* among the great men at Court by *one more powerful than the rest*, and had, besides, the good luck to be most generously *restored to itself* by Queen *Mary;* nevertheless it did not fare so well with the rest of the Episcopal Sees, which, during this King's reign, were most lamentably ravaged and depauperated. To give some instances.

The Bishopric of *Westminster* was dissolved, *extinguished*, and *exterminated* by Act of Parliament; *Thirlby*, the first and only Bishop of this See, (after he had sat here about nine years) being translated to *Norwich* in this reign, and by Queen *Mary* to the chair of *Ely*.

The Bishopric of *Rochester* (upon *Scory*'s removal to *Chichester*) was enjoyed by the Crown till the death of this King.

The Bishopric of *Worcester* was given to *Hooper* (now actually Bishop of *Gloucester*) *in commendam*, tho' this man was nothing more, in reality, than a mere *titular commendatary;* the Episcopal Revenues, in the mean time, being devoured by the hungry courtiers.

The Bishopric of *Bath* and *Wells* was most wretchedly dilapidated and dismembered by *Barlow*, as D. *Heylin* informs us. See his *History of the Reformation*, p. 54.

It would be too tedious to recount all the ravages committed, at this time, upon other Bishoprics; as *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, *Lincoln*, *Landaff*, &c. &c. And therefore we remit all such as are desirous of being entertained with a more particular account of these matters, to the abovementioned *Hist. Ref.* pp. 100, 101, 129.

§ 5.—*Of the Suppression of the Chanteries, Free-Chapels, Colleges, Hospitals, &c. with some other Instances of the* Rapacity of the Times... *The King's Minority is abused,* even to a high Degree of Sacrilege.

We have already observed, that King *Henry* VIII. in his last Parliament, procured a grant of all the Chanteries, &c. in *England*, but that, dying soon after, there was no complete seizure made of them in his time. But this was only a short reprieve to them. For King *Edward*'s ministry having got the *power*, they soon found out the *means* to execute in *this*, whatever destructive schemes had been left unfinished in the *last* reign; and with keen appetites did they fall upon all such Chanteries, Free-Chapels, &c. as old King *Harry* had not time to carve and devour. How these matters were transacted, D. *Heylin* gives us the following information.

"† In the 27th year of King *Henry the Eighth*, all *Chanteries*, *Free-Chapels*, *Colleges*, and *Hospitals*, were given to the King. But he died before he had taken many of them into his possession. And the Grandees of the Court not being willing to lose so rich a booty, it was set on foot again, and carried in this present Parliament. In which were granted to the King all *Chanteries*, *Colleges*, *Free-Chapels*, *Hospitals*, *Fraternities*, *Brotherhoods*, *Gilds*, and other *Promotions*, (mentioned in 37 H. 8. c. 4.) with all their mansion-houses, manors, rents, tythes, churches, patronages, lands and goods, (not already seiz'd on by his father) which they sold at a low rate, *enriched* many, and *ennobled* some. And therefore made them firm in maintaining the change.

"‡ For the Nobility and inferior Gentry possessed of *patronages*, considering how much the Lords and great men of the Court had improved their fortunes by the suppression of *Chanteries* and other *Foundations*, which had been granted to the King, conceived themselves in a capacity to do the like, by taking into their hands the yearly profits of such *benefices*, of which, by law, they were only intrusted with the *Presentations*.——In short,

"§ Such was the *rapacity of the times*, and the unfortunateness of the King's condition, that his minority was abused to many acts of spoil and rapine (even to a high de-

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 47. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 57. § *Ibid.* p. 131.

gree of sacrilege) to the *raising* of some, and *enriching* of others; without any manner of improvement to his own estate. For notwithstanding the great and almost inestimable treasures, which must come in by the spoil of so many *shrines* and *images*, the sale of the lands belonging to *Chanteries*, *Free-Chapels*, *Colleges*, &c. and the delapidating of the patrimony of so many *Bishopricks* and *Cathedral Churches;* he was nevertheless not only plunged in debt, but the Crown Lands are much diminished and impaired since his coming to it. Besides which spoils, there were many other helps, and some great ones too, of keeping him beforehand, and full of money, had they been used to his advantage.

"The lands of divers of the Halls and Companies of *London* were charged with annual pensions, for the finding of such lights, obits, and Chantery-Priests as were founded by the donors of them. For the redeeming whereof, they were constrained to pay twenty thousand pounds to the use of the King. Other vast sums likewise came to him upon several accounts; yet, notwithstanding all this, he is now found to be much overwhelmed in debt. It must now be his care, and the endeavours of those that plunged him into it, to find the speediest way for his getting out. In order to which, the main engine, at this time, for the advancing money, was the speeding a commission into all parts of the realm, under pretence of selling such of the lands and goods of Chanteries, &c. that remain'd unsold; but, in plain truth, it was to seize upon all hangings, altar-cloths, fronts, parafronts, copes of all sorts, with all manner of plate, jewels, bells and ornaments, which were to be found in any Cathedral or Parochial Church, to which the demolishing of the former altars, and placing the communion-table in the middle of the quires or chancels of every church (as was then most used) gave a very great hint, by rendering all such furniture, rich plate, and other costly utensils, in a manner useless. And that the business might be carried on with as much advantage to the King as might be, he gave out certain instructions under his hand, by which the Commissioners were to regulate themselves in their proceedings, to the advancement of the service.

"Now we cannot doubt but they were punctual and exact in the execution, which cannot be better discerned than by that which is reported of their doings in all parts of the kingdom; and more particularly in the Church of S. *Peter* in *Westminster*, more richly furnished, by reason of the

pomps of coronations, funerals, and such like solemnities, than any other in the kingdom. Unto this Church they left no more than two cups with covers, all gilt ; one white silver pot, three hearse-cloths, twelve cushions, one carpet for the table, eight stall-cloths for the quire, three pulpit-cloths, nine little carpets for the dean's stall, two table-cloths. The rest of the rich furniture, massy plate, and whatever else was of any value (which questionless must amount to a very great sum) was seiz'd on by the said Commissioners. The like was done generally in all other parts of the realm.

" But notwithstanding this great care of the King on the one side, and the double diligence of the Commissioners on the other, the booty did not prove so great as was expected. In all great fairs and markets, there are some forestallers, who get the best pennyworths to themselves, and suffer not the richest and most gainful commodities to be openly sold. And so it was here : for there were some who were as much beforehand with the Commissioners in embezzling the said plate, jewels, and other furniture, as the Commissioners did intend to be with the King, in keeping always most part of it unto themselves. For when the Commissioners came to execute their powers in their several circuits, they neither could discover all, or recover much of that which had been made away : some things being utterly embezzled by persons not responsible ; in which case the King, as the Commissioners, was to lose his right. But more was concealed by persons not to be discovered ; who had so cunningly carried on the stealth, that there was no tracing of their footsteps. And some there were, who being known to have such *goods* in their possession, conceived themselves to be *too great* to be called in question, and were connived at willingly by those that were but their equals, and either were or meant to be, offenders in the same kind. So that, altho' some profit was hereby raised to the King's Exchequer, yet the far greatest part of the *prey* came into other hands. Insomuch that many private men's parlours were hung with altar-cloths, their tables and beds covered with copes instead of carpets and coverlets ; and many made carousing cups of the *sacred chalices ;* as once *Belshazzar* celebrated his drunken feasts in the sanctified vessels of the temple.

" It was a sorry house, and not worth the naming, which had not something of this furniture in it ; though it were only a fair large cushion, to adorn their windows, or to make

their chairs appear to have somewhat in them of a chair of state!

"Yet how contemptible were these trappings, in comparison of those vast sums of money which were made of jewels, plate, and cloth of tissue; either conveyed beyond the seas, or sold at home, and good lands purchased with the money. Nothing the more blessed to the posterity of them that bought them, for being purchased with the *consecrated Treasures* of so many Churches."

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§ 6.—*An Ejectment is served upon* Images *by an Order of the Privy Council... The* pretended *Reason for this Order is said to have been to prevent Idolatrous Worship... Mr.* Collier *clears the* Papists *(as he calls them) from the heavy Imputation of* Pagan Idolatry... *The* true *Reasons for destroying* Images *and* Altars *are assigned by D.* Heylin, *viz.* Covetousness, *and* the Consideration of Profit... *A short Digression, wherein* Bucer's *Objection against a* Mediator of Intercession *is fairly and fully answered by Mr.* Collier.

THE *Churches* being thus most devoutly plundered by the Commissioners of all their jewels and gold, silver crosses, candlesticks, censers, chalices, ready money, copes of gold and silver tissue, and all other officiating habits and ornamental furniture of great value; the next important business was, to *reform* the *Altars* too, upon the very same plan. And this was no sooner proposed, than resolved on *nem. con.* But *Images* happening to stand unluckily in the way, the first attack was made upon them by an order of the Privy Council, directed to Archbp. *Cranmer*, as follows.

'We have thought good to signify unto you, that his Highness's pleasure, with the advice and consent of Us, the Lord Protector, and the rest of the Council, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, you shall give order, that all Images remaining in any Church within your Diocese be taken away; and also by your letters shall signify to the rest of the Bishops this his Highness's pleasure.' *Stat.* 3 and 4. E. 6. c. 10.

Now the *pretended* reason for issuing out these orders was, to prevent the people from abusing the Images (as it was rumoured) to superstition and idolatry. Meanwhile the new-gospel preachers, both in their pulpits and elsewhere,

represented and decried the venerable Temples and Altars of antiquity as places and things contaminated with idolatry, gross, abominable, heathenish idolatry, if not something worse. But to this popular clamour Mr. *Collier* very properly replies, and as justly observes, that

"† How criminal soever the Worship of Images, and the Adoration of the Host, may be *represented*, it certainly falls far short of the malignity of *Pagan Idolatry :* for the heathens addressed scandalous beings, and worshipped devils. Their religious rites were savage and licentious, they sacrificed their children to their pretended deities, and impurity and debauch were part of their religion. Now since nothing of this kind can be objected to the *Papists*, they ought not to be blackened beyond *equity* and *truth*, ranged with *heathens* and *idolaters*, and made as bad as the *Canaanites* in the Old Testament."

But to come at the *true* reasons why the above orders were issued from the Privy Council, to demolish *Images* and *Altars*, we must apply to D. *Heylin*. And first, with regard to the demolition of *Images*, he frankly confesses,

"‡ It may well be thought that *covetousness* spur'd on this business more than *zeal;* there being none of the Images so poor and mean, the spoil whereof would not afford some gold and silver, if not jewels also."—Then, as to the subversion of the *Altars*, the same Author informs us how that

"§ The great business of this year [1550] was the taking down of Altars in many places *by the public authority;* which in some few had formerly been pulled down *by the irregular forwardness* of the common people. The principal motive whereunto was, in the first place, the opinion of some dislikes that had been taken by *Calvin* against the Liturgy ; and the desire of those of the *Zuinglian* faction to reduce this Church to the nakedness and simplicity of those transmarine Churches which followed the *Helvetian* or *Calvinian* forms. For the advancement of which work, it had been preached by *Hooper* before the King, about the beginning of this year, 'that it would be very well, that it might please magistrates to turn the altars into tables, according to the first institution of *Christ;* and thereby to take away the false persuasion of the people which they have of sacrifices to be done upon altars. Because, as long as Altars remain, both the ignorant people, and ignorant and evil-persuaded priest, will dream always of

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. iv. p. 457.
‡ *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 56. § *Ibid.* p. 95.

sacrifice.' This was enough to put the thoughts of the alteration into the heads of some of the great men about the Court, who thereby promised themselves no small hopes of *profit*, by disfurnishing the Altars of the hangings, palls, plate, and other rich utensils, which every parish, more or less, had provided for them. And that this *consideration* might prevail upon them, as much as any other (if perchance not more) may be collected from an enquiry made about two years after, *in which it was to be interrogated: What jewels, gold and silver, or silver crosses, candlesticks, censers, chalices, copes and other vestments, were then remaining in any of the Cathedral or Parochial Churches, or otherwise had been embezzled or taken away?* The leaving of one chalice to every church, with a cloth or covering for the communion-table, being thought sufficient."

Thus where *covetousness* spurred on the Reformation, and where the *consideration of profit* (more than any other) predominated and *prevailed*, what wonder to see Churches *disfurnished*, and Altars (after having been reduced to a most contemptible state of poverty and nakedness) at last thrown down to the ground?

We shall close up this section with what, we presume, may be allowed (on the account of its affinity with the preceding subject) a pertinent *digression;* wherein we beg leave to entertain the Reader with *Martin Bucer*'s argument against a *Mediator of Intercession*, and Mr. *Collier*'s answer to it.

Bucer objects, that our Saviour commands us to address to God the Father *in his name;* that he is said to be our *Priest* and *Mediator;* and that the angel that appeared to *Cornelius* did not tell him, that either himself, or any other angel, offered his prayers and alms to God Almighty.—Mr. *Collier*'s reply.

"† Notwithstanding this reasoning, it is *certain* angels have part of our Saviour's kingdom assign'd them; and that they are concerned in the presidency and guardianship of the faithful. [*Acts* xii. 15.] Thus we are taught by the author to the *Hebrews*, that *they are all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them, who shall be heirs of salvation*, [*Heb.* i. 14.]; and may it not be part of their employment, to inspect the behaviour, to report the devotions, and to *intercede* in behalf of their charge? If 'tis said that God Almighty is *omnipresent*, and needs no information, to this it may be answered, he is *omnipotent* too, and therefore

‡ *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. iv. p. 298.

has no need of the ministry of angels to assist him in his government, and to protect his Church; and yet the Scripture acquaints us, that he is pleased to make use of them for this last purpose. 'Tis hard for us to pronounce upon the extent of an angel's commission, or to what charitable offices their own benevolence may carry them. 'Tis true, S. *Paul* mentions *one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.* [1 *Tim.* ii. 5.] But then by the next verse 'tis plain he means a Mediator of *Redemption*, and not a Mediator of *Intercession*, so far as to exclude all others. For every one who solicits his neighbour's happiness, and recommends him to God in his devotions, may be said to be a *Mediator* in a lower sense. Now such instances of charity are not only lawful, but the duty of one Christian towards another. And that an angel is barred the liberty of such friendly applications, is more than *Bucer can* prove,"—or any body else, we presume.

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§ 7.—*Some Account of King* Edward's New Ordinal, *and his* XLII. Articles of Religion.

We have done with Bishoprics, Cathedrals, Chanteries, Altars, and Images, and as the scene changes, so the Reader may expect to be entertained with some *fine new things*, and with such *rarities* as had never been seen before in this island!

Now the first new thing that presents itself to the observation of the curious, is King *Edward's New Ordinal.* An affair that took up much time in the adjustment. But great matters are seldom brought to perfection on a sudden. No wonder, then, if this great work should appear, in the records of history, to have been three years and upwards upon the anvil. For King *Henry the Eighth* died *January* 8, 1547: and from that time till *April* 1, 1550, the *Zuinglians* sat brooding upon their Ordinal. — *Tantæ molis erat!*

At last, however, it is recommended to the Public by an Act of Parliament.

"*The Act being short," says Mr. *Collier*, "and not printed in the Statutes at large, I shall transcribe it for the Reader: 'Forasmuch as Concord and Unity to be had with-

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. iv. p. 288.---See also *Stat.* 3 and 4. E. 6. c. 12. and *Heyl. Hist. Ref.* p. 82.

in the King's Majesty's dominions, it is requisite to have one uniform fashion and manner for making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, or Ministers of the Church. Be it therefore enacted by the King's Highness, with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that such form and manner of making and consecrating of Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church, as by six Prelates, and six other men of this realm, learned in the law, by the King's Majesty to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them, shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the Great Seal of *England*, before the first day of *April* next coming, shall, by vertue of this present Act, be lawfully exercised and used, and none other; any statute, or law, or usage to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.'"

Thus, whatever may be objected against the validity of King *Edward*'s new *Fashions*, or *Manners*, or *Forms* of Ordination (of which more hereafter) at least, it cannot be denied but they were established and supported by the authority of an *Act of Parliament*. A formality that was wanting to his *New Articles of Religion;* as will appear from the following authentic account of them.

Let it then be remembered, that our busy faith-refiners in the Court of King *Edward* were, for the first four years of his reign, so *zealously intent upon their prey*, that matters of *doctrine*, and *discipline* too, seemed to have been most supinely neglected, if not entirely forgotten. In the mean time, great disorders discovered themselves in the celebration of the divine service, great differences arose amongst the officiating ministers, and as great irreverence was practised and propagated among the people; many of them not knowing well what to believe, or what to practise. However, so it happened at last, that after the *making* of estates, (the first, to be sure, and, perhaps the principal thing to be considered) they began to turn their thoughts towards the great business of *making* Articles of Religion. *Better late than never;* tho' D. *Heylin* is of opinion, that this famous job had been too long deferred.

"† For till the fifth year of this reign, nothing had been concluded positively and dogmatically in *points of doctrine*, but as they were to be collected from the Homilies and the

† *Heylin's Hist.* pp. 106, 107.

public Liturgy; and these but few, in reference to the many controversies which were to be maintained against the sectaries of that age. Many *disorders* having grown up in this little time, in officiating the Liturgy, the Vestures of the Church, and the habit of churchmen, begun by *Calvin*, and prosecuted by *Hooper;* and unto these, the change of *Altars* into *Tables* gave no small increase; as well by reason of some *differences* which grew amongst the ministers themselves upon that occasion, as in regard of the *irreverence* which it bred in the people; to whom it made the Sacrament to appear less venerable than before it did.—It was therefore thought necessary to compose a *Book of Articles*, in which should be contained *The common Principles of the Christian Faith.*

"For the better performing of this work, *Melancthon*'s company and assistance had been long desired. That he held correspondence with the King and Archbishop *Cranmer*, appears by his Epistles of the years 1549, 1550, 1551. But that he came not over, as was expected, must be imputed either to our home-bred troubles, or the great sickness of this year, or the death of the Duke of *Somerset*, upon whom he did most rely. But tho' *Erasmus* was dead, and *Melancthon* absent, yet were they to be found, both alive and present, in their writings. By which, together with the *Augustan* Confession, the composers of these Articles were much directed."

With all these helps from abroad, and some assistance at home, *Cranmer* makes a shift to finish his new *System of Faith*, and then confidently recommends it to the Public, as a *thing* agreed upon by the Bishops and other learned men in a convocation, to put an end to *divisions* (forsooth) and to procure *consent* amongst the professors of the *New Religion:* which, in reality, is much the same thing as to attempt an impossibility. For in vain do we expect to find any tolerable agreement, unanimity, or consent among the *Reformed;* when every man of them, *by the first Principle of the Reformation*, may and does challenge the privilege and liberty to expound the *Credenda* of his *erring* Church, as well as the *Scripture*, according to his own private fancy and imagination. Nor is there a man amongst them all, but thinks he has a right, in both cases, *to abound in his own sense.* But to return to the *Articles.*

Cranmer having rigged them out in as decent a garb as his head could *devise*, they were permitted to make their appearance in public, under the following magnificent title:

Articuli de quibus in Synodo Lond: A. D. 1552, *ad tollendam opinionum Dissensionem, et consensum veræ Religionis firmandum, inter Episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat. Regia Authoritate in lucem editi.* That is: 'Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other learned men, in a convocation at London, A. D. 1552, to take away diversity of opinions, and to establish the consent of true religion: published by the King's Authority.'

That these articles were published by royal authority, we can easily grant; but that they were the result of a convocation, is a circumstance which, we think, we have good reasons to deny.

First, because that Mr. *Fuller*, after a careful and attentive perusal of the Convocation Records, declares he can find no such agreement of Bishops and learned men about the Articles, no *Synodal Approbation* of them, or any thing like it. "*As for the records of this convocation," says he, "they are but one degree above *blanks*, scarce affording the names of the clerks assembled therein. Indeed, they had no commission from the King to meddle with Church business; and every convocation is in itself born both deaf and dumb; so that it can neither hear complaints in religion, nor speak in redress thereof, till first *Ephetha*, be thou opened, be pronounced unto it by commission from royal authority. Now the true reason why the King would not intrust the diffusive body of the convocation with a power to meddle with matters of religion, was a just jealousy which he had of the ill affection of the major part thereof; who under a fair *kind* of Protestant profession, had the rotten *core* of *Romish* superstition. It was therefore conceived safer for the King to rely on the ability and fidelity of some *select confidents*, cordial to the cause of [the new] religion, than to adventure the same to be discussed and decided by a suspicious convocation. However, this barren convocation is entitled the *parent* of those Articles of Religion (forty-two in number) which are printed with this Preface, *Articulo de quibus*, &c. as is recited before. With these [articles] was bound a † *Catechism*, younger in age (as bearing date of the next year) but of the same extraction, relating to the convocation, as author thereof.

* *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* B. VII. p. 420.

† This *Catechism* was originally a *German* performance. It was published first in *High Dutch*: then translated into *Latin* by *Justus Jonas*, junior, and into *English* by *Cranmer*.

Indeed, it was first compiled (as appears in the King's Patent prefixed) by a single divine (character'd pious and learned) but afterwards perused and allowed by the Bishops and other learned men, and, by royal authority, commended to all subjects, commanded to all schoolmasters, to teach their scholars. Yet very few in the convocation ever saw it, and much less explicitly consented thereunto. But these had formerly (it seems) passed over their power (I should be thankful to him who would produce the original instrument thereof) to select divines, appointed by the King. In which sense they may be said to have done it themselves by their delegates, to whom they had deputed their authority. A case not so clear, but that it occasioned a cavil at the next convocation, in the first of Queen *Mary*; when the Papists therein assembled renounced the legality of any such former transaction.——The case was this: D. *Weston*, Dean of *Westminster*, at the meeting of the first convocation under Queen *Mary* (in which he was chose prolocutor) after some preludial questions, proceeded to touch upon the *Catechism*, and the *Articles bound up with it*. He denied the authority of the title, and charged the book with false doctrine and heresy. At their next meeting, after two days adjournment, the prolocutor procured the subscriptions of the House against the *Catechism* and *Articles*, positively denying the said Book's being set forth by the assent of the convocation."—See *Collier*'s *Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. iv. pp. 354 and 368.

Secondly, Archbp. *Cranmer*, upon his examination before the Queen's Commissioners at *Oxford*, confessed his being the author, both of the *Catechism* and *Articles*, if *Fox* is to be believed. "As for the Catechism and Book of Articles, he granted the same to be his doings."—*Acts* and *Mon.* p. 1704.

Thirdly, Mr. *Strype*, in his *Memorials* of the Life of this Archbishop, assures us, that "The forty-two Articles were composed by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*."—*Strype's Memorials*, Book II. p. 272.

Fourthly, D. *Heylin* observes, "†That tho' a Parliament was held at this time, and that this Parliament had passed several acts which concerned Church matters; as, *An Act for Uniformity of Divine Service; an Act for the Confirmation of the Book of Ordination*, &c.; yet neither in this Parliament, nor in that which followed, is there so

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* pp. 25 and 121.

much as the least syllable which reflecteth this way, or meddleth at all with the *Book of Articles.*"

Now, from these concessions, the conclusion appears to be undeniable, that the famous *forty-two Articles* of the religion of this reign can neither be accounted *synodal* nor *parliamentary.* Not *synodal,* because it was not thought expedient, or even *safe,* to have them *discussed and decided by a suspicious convocation.* Not *parliamentary,* because the Parliament *never meddled at all with the Book of Articles.*

In fine, if it is supposable that King *Edward*'s Articles of Religion contained *the common Principles of the Christian Faith,* may it not then be allowable to ask, if it was justifiable in Queen *Elizabeth,* and who gave her authority to *chop* and *change* the said *principles,* to *curtail* their number, and to reduce them from *forty-two* to *thirty-nine?*

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§ 8.—*Some Account of a* new Liturgy *or Common Prayer-book, published by King* Edward... *Reflections on the Act of Parliament by which it was authorised.*

"† Now the time draws on for the putting forth the *New Liturgy,* which differed little in the main (no, not so much as in the Canon of the Mass) from the *Latin* service."

The main difference, however, seems to have consisted in the communion's being appointed, by Act of Parliament, to be administered to the people *in both kinds,* in direct contradiction to the *second* of King *Henry*'s famous *six Articles,* which strenuously asserts and maintains, *that communion in both kinds is not necessary, by the law of God, to all people.* But so fluctuating and unsteady was the state of religion in those unhappy days of disorder and confusion, that what appeared *necessary* in one reign, was voted to be quite the reverse in the next. Nor were the reformers, perhaps, in any one thing more inconsistent with themselves, than in their *putting forth the new Liturgy.*

Now, in order to clear the way for the introduction of it, it was thought expedient previously to *prohibit, abolish,* and *extinguish for ever,* all the ancient Liturgic Offices of all de-

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 72.

nominations: all which are particularly specified in the following Act of Parliament.

'Whereas in the former Service Book are things corrupt, untrue, vain, and superstitious, be it therefore enacted, that all books called Antiphoners, Missales, Grailes, Processionales, Manueles, Legendes, Pies, Portuasses, Primers in *Latin* and *English*, Couchers, Journalles, Ordinalles, or other books or wrytings whatsoever, heretofore used for the service of the Church, wryten or printed in the *English* or *Latin* tongue, other than such as are or shall be set forth by the King's Majesty, shall be, by authority of this present Act, clearly and utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden for ever, to be used or kept in this realm, or elsewhere, within any of the King's dominions.'—*Vid. Stat.* 3 and 4. E. 6. c. 10.

Thus the old Service-Books, as soon as *condemned*, were ordered immediately for *execution*, which was every where to be ushered in with the subsequent formalities. The *condemned criminals* were commanded to be delivered into safe custody of the mayor, bailiffs, constables, or churchwardens, in their respective townships, who (within three months after they came into their hands) were to surrender them to the Archbishop, Bishop, Chancellor, or Commissary of the Diocese, in order to be either openly burnt, or otherwise defaced and destroyed; and that, in case any of the persons abovementioned reserved or secreted any of the *condemned* books, and did not bring them in to the Archbishop, Bishop, &c. they were, for the first offence, to forfeit ten shillings; four pounds for the second; and for the third, to suffer imprisonment at the King's pleasure. And if the Archbishop, Bishops, &c. failed to execute the *Act*, and did not burn, deface, and destroy the said books within forty days after they received them, then were they to forfeit forty pounds; half of which sum was for the King, and the other moiety for the informer.

"‡ 'Tis almost a pity," says Mr. *Collier*, "there was not a clause in this *Act* to allow the Bishops the liberty of reserving a copy of all these *censured books*, and lodging them in their cathedral libraries. Thus the form and distinction of the *old offices* might have been better known, and some valuable curiosities remain'd."——But since the old offices are irretrievably lost, we shall endeavour to entertain our

‡ *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. Book iv. p. 207.

reader with a detail of such ancient *Customs* and *Ceremonies* as were retained in the first *English* Common Prayer-Book.

In officiating this *New Liturgy*, the Bishops were directed by the *Rubrics* to perform the Divine Service in their *Crosses*, the Priests in *White Albs*, with a *Vestment* or *Cope*, the Deacons in *Albs* with *Tunicles*. The *Introits* and *Gloria in excelsis* were said in *English*, as also the *Nicene* Creed; excepting that, in the *ninth Article*, (but for what reason I can't imagine) the word *holy* is omitted. The *Prefaces* (proper and common), *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, and the *Pater noster*, were to be recited in *English*. The *Rubric* also directs and enjoins the *putting a little pure and clean water* to the *wine* in the *Chalice;* and the *bread* was ordered to be *unleavened*, and *round* as formerly, but without any *print* upon it. See the *Appendix* No. XVIII.

Prayer for the Dead was likewise kept up in this Liturgy, as appears from the following words of a prayer in the Communion-Office: *We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all thy servants which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech thee, mercy and everlasting peace.*

Auricular Confession was permitted to such as chose it; and the use of *Chrism* and *Extreme Unction* was, as yet, retained, though with this difference from the Catholic practice, that the sick person was to be anointed with the *Sign of the Cross* on the forehead or breast *only*. The form of prayer made use of upon this occasion (which, for brevity's sake, we omit) may be seen in Mr. *Collier*'s *Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 257.

Conclude we this section with a reflection or two upon the *Act of Parliament* by which this first Liturgy of *Edward* VI. is authorised and recommended to the use of the *Public*. And,

First, "‡ By the Act of Parliament which confirmed the same, it was declared to have been done *by the special aid of the Holy Ghost*. But *Calvin* was resolved to think otherwise of it. In his letter to *Cranmer* he is more particular, and tells him in plain terms, 'That in the language of this Church, as then it stood, there remained a whole mass of Popery, which did not only blemish, but almost destroy God's publick worship.' § Not content with this, he writes a very

‡ *Heylin's Hist. Presb.* pp. 237, 238. § *Idem*, p. 72.

long letter to the Protector, in which he descends more particularly to the *English* Liturgy; in the canvassing whereof he excepted against *Commemoration of the Dead*, as also against *Chrism* and *Extreme Unction*. And then he makes it his advice, 'That all these ceremonies should be abrogated.'"——And thus did *Calvin* most unmercifully censure and condemn the *English Liturgy*, notwithstanding the boasted assistance of the H. Ghost in the compiling of it.

Secondly, in the same Act of Parliament, the *New Liturgy* is said to have been drawn up *according to the usages of the Primitive Church*. And, perhaps, it may be admitted to be, at least, so far conformable to the usage of the *Primitive Church*, as it retains a likeness or affinity with the *Latin Service*, from whence it was purloined, and which, at its first appearance in the world, it very much resembled. But this resemblance is in great danger of being obliterated by length of time. For King *Edward*'s first essay of a Liturgy in *English*, has undergone so many reformations and refinements (and is still threatened with more) that it would be no great wonder, if it should abate something of the primitiveness of its lustre in almost every edition, and as visibly depart from the ancient form of worship established and used in the *Primitive Church*.

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§ 9.—Calvin *procures a second Edition of King* Edward's *Liturgy or Common Prayer-Book, and* censures *it with a great deal of Freedom.*

"‡ One of the main matters which was now brought into consideration, was, the *reviewing* of the Liturgy; for the removing of such offences as had been taken by *Calvin* and his followers, at some parts thereof, and so far prevailed in the two first years, that in the convocation which was begun in the former year, the first debate amongst the Prelates was of such doubts as had arisen about some things contained in the Common Prayer-Book. Upon this debate, there was a new Book of Common-Prayer set forth.

"§ And thereupon we may conclude, that the first Li-

‡ *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 107.
§ His History of the *Presbyterians*, pp. 239, 240.

turgy was discontinued, and the second superinduced upon it, after this *review*, to give satisfaction to *Calvin*'s cavils."

The Act of Parliament which authorised this *new edition*, is somewhat too remarkable to be omitted. It addresses the Public as follows :

'Whereas there hath been *a very godly order* set forth by the authority of Parliament, for the Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, agreeable to the *Word of God* and the *Primitive Church*, very comfortable to all good people, and most profitable to the estate of the realm, &c. And yet this notwithstanding, a great number of people do wilfully and *damnably*, before Almighty God, abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches, where Common-Prayer, &c. is used upon Sundays, &c. And therefore the King's most excellent Majesty, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, hath caused the aforesaid Order of Common-Prayer, intitled, *The Book of Common-Prayer*, to be faithfully and godly perused, and made fully perfect, &c.'—See *Stat.* 5 and 6. E. 6.

"† Upon the setting forth this book, there appeared no small alterations in the outward solemnities of the divine service, to which the people had been formerly so long accustomed. For by the rubrick of the Book, no *Copes* or other *Vestments* were required, but the *Surplice* only. The Bishops were necessitated to forbear their *Crosses*, &c." — And here it may not be improper to take notice, that even this second edition of King *Edward*'s Common Prayer-Book, with *no small alterations*, was still unpleasing and unpalatable to the grand Reformer of *Geneva;* as appears from the freedom of his censure, and the haughty manner of expressing his disapprobation of it.

'‡ *In Liturgia Anglicana, qualem mihi describitis, multas video tolerabiles ineptias*—I cannot but observe many *tolerable fooleries* in the *English* Liturgy, such as you describe it to me.' And then he goes on complaining, 'That it wanted much of that purity which was to be desired in it; and that it contained many relicks of the dregs of Popery; and finally, that it behoved the learned, godly, and grave ministers of *Christ*, to set forth something more refined from filth and rustiness.'——"This answer," continues our Historian, "so prevailed upon all his followers, that they

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 121. ‡ *Heylin's Hist. of the Presb.* p. 240.

who sometime had approved, did now dislike the *English* Liturgy; and they who at first had conceived a *dislike* of it, did afterwards grow into an open *detestation* of it."—And this *dislike* and *detestation* of the Common Prayer-Book (as a relic of Popery) seems to have been carefully preserved and industriously propagated among the Dissenting Protestants, from Mr. *Calvin* down to the present time.

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§ 10.—*The Fruits of K.* Edward's *Reformation.*

This King's Reformation, almost as soon as planted, began to fructify. And these were some of the principal fruits it produced: 1. *Confusion* in the performance of the Divine Service: and, 2. A most scandalous abuse and contempt of the *Blessed Sacrament*, which was, at this time, *reproached* and stigmatized with *many odious names.* Of the first D. *Heylin* gives us the following account.

"‡ Notwithstanding his [the King's] great care to set forth *one uniform order of administring the holy Communion in both kinds*, yet so it happened, that thro' the perverse obstinacy and froward dissembling of many of the inferior Priests and Ministers of cathedral and other churches of this realm, there did arise *a marvellous schism* and variety of *fashions* in celebrating the *Communion Service*, and administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. For some zealously allowing the King's proceedings, did gladly follow the orders thereof; and others, tho' not so willingly, admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly use some part of them; but many causelessly contemning them all, would still continue in their former Popery."

F. *Parsons*, in his *Three Conversions of England*, is a little more explicit in his description of that confusion and disorder which innovation had, about this time, introduced into churches. His words are these: "What a *Babylonial* confusion, in the two first years of this reign, ensued, upon the innovation in all churches, is wonderful to recount. For some Priests said the *Latin* Mass, some the *English* communion; some both, some neither; some half of the one, and half of the other. It was very ordinary to say the *Introitus* and *Confiteor* in *English*, and the *Collects* and

‡ *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 63.

and some other parts in *Latin*; after that again, the *Epistles* and *Gospels* in *English*; and then the *Canon* of the Mass in *Latin*; and lastly, the *Benediction* and last Gospel in *English*. But that which was of more importance and impiety, some did consecrate bread and wine, others did not, but would tell the people before-hand, that they would not consecrate, but restore to them their bread and wine back again; only adding to it the Church's Benediction. And those that did consecrate, did consecrate in divers forms: some aloud, some in secret: some in one form of words, some in another. And after Consecration, some held up the Host to be adored, after the old fashion, and some did not. And of those that were present, some did kneel down and adore, others did shut their eyes, others turned away their faces, others ran out of the church, crying *Idolatry!*"——See this passage not inelegantly versified by Mr. *Ward*, in his *Eng. Ref.* beginning with these words:

> "At *Windsor*, *Ned* and *Somerset*
> With *Latimer* and *Cranmer* met, &c."

See also K. *Edward*'s *Journal*, preserved by *Burnet* in his *Hist. Ref.* where this famous *Windsor* consultation is particularly described. [Vol. II. B. i.]

But a confused *medley* of Church-service was not the only disconvenience of the times. For now the most sacred and solemn mysteries of the Christian Religion began to be most impiously and prophanely ridiculed and abused: and in doing this, the bigotted reformers pushed their blind zeal to a very scandalous length.

"*In some places they ran to an extreme of prophaneness. The *Holy Eucharist* was mentioned with disregard. The consecrated elements were thrown out of the Church, together with many other instances of irreligious outrage. —And particularly†, it is observed in the Register-Book of *Petworth*, that *many* at this time affirmed, that the most *Blessed Sacrament* of the Altar was of little worth; so that, in many places, it was irreverently used, and cast out of the Church, and many other great enormities committed.— This prodigious growth of *irreverence* and *prophaneness*, at long run, occasioned the enacting of the following penal statute.

'Whereas some arrogant and contentious people have not only disputed and reasoned unreverently of the most

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. iv. p. 251.
† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 57.

high mystery, but also in their sermons, preachings, readings, lectures, communications, arguments, rhimes, songs, plays, or jests, name and call it by such vile and unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed. For the reformation whereof it is enacted by the King's Highness, with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that whatsoever person or persons, from and after the first day of *May* next coming, shall deprave, despise, or contemn the said most *Blessed Sacrament*, by any contemptuous words, or by any words of depraving, despising, or reviling; or whatsoever person or persons shall advisedly, in any other way, contemn, despise, or revile the said most *Blessed Sacrament*, contrary to the effects and declaration abovesaid, that then he and they shall suffer imprisonment of their bodies, and shall make fine and ransom at the King's will and pleasure.' Stat. 1. E. 6. c. 1.

"† And to say the truth, it was but time that some provision should be made to suppress that irreverence and prophaneness with which the Blessed Sacrament was at that time handled, by too many of those who seem'd most ignorantly zealous of reformation. For whereas the Sacrament was in those times delivered unto each communicant in a small round *wafer*, called by the name of *Sacramentum Altaris*, or, *The Blessed Sacrament of the Altar*; and that such parts thereof as were reserved from time to time were hang'd up over the altar in a *pix* or box, the zealous ones, in hatred to the Church of *Rome*, reproached it by the odious names of *Jack in a Box*, *Round Robin*, *Sacrament of the Halter*, and other names, so unbecoming the mouths of Christians, that they were never taken up by the Turks or Infidels!—*O tempora! O mores!*"

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 48, 49.

THE EXPLOITS OF Q. ELIZABETH AS SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH.

§ 1.—*At the End of the first Session of* Q. Elizabeth's *first Parliament, all the Catholic Bishops (one only excepted) are deprived, for refusing the* Oath of Supremacy... *And what became of them?*

THE next day after the meeting of the Parliament, the Convocation likewise met; in which D. *Bonner*, Bp. of *London*, (the See of *Canterbury* being vacant by the death of Cardinal *Pole*) presided, and D. *Harpsfield* was chose prolocutor. The only business of note done in this Convocation, was the drawing up of a set of articles, (five in number) which Mr. *Fuller* has preserved in his Church History, B. ix. pp. 55, 56.

These articles, says D. Heylin, *were presented by* Bonner *to the hands of the Lord Keeper* Bacon; but little notice was taken of them, either in the House of Lords or by the Queen, who was now, it seems, absolutely determined to effect a change of religion at all events. And this favourite point she had the address to carry (tho' but by a small majority of votes) in her first Parliament.

At the close of the first session, the Catholic Bishops were all (except one) deprived. "† For being called by certain Lords of the Council, they were required to take the Oath of Supremacy. *Kitchin* of *Landaff* only takes it; who having formerly submitted to every change, resolved to shew himself no *changling*, in not conforming to the pleasure of the higher powers. By all the rest it was refused. Whereupon they were deprived of their Bishopricks;" and disposed of in the following manner.

Edmund Bonner, Bp. of *London*. His deprivation was soon followed by his commitment to the *Marshalsea*. He died a close prisoner.

The five following Bishops, viz. *John White*, Bp. of *Winchester*; *Thomas Watson*, Bp. of *Lincoln*; *Owen*

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 114.

Oglethorpe, Bp. of *Carlisle*; *Ralph Bain*, Bp. of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*; and *Gilbert Bourn*, Bp. of *Bath* and *Wells*, died in durance.

Cuthbert Tonstal, Bp. of *Durham*, and *Thomas Thirlby*, Bp. of *Ely*, died prisoners at *Lambeth*.

Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of *York*, and *David Pool*, Bp. of *Peterborough*, died prisoners at large.

James Turberville, Bp. of *Exeter*, met with the same usage.

Cuthbert Scot, Bp. of *Chester*, escaped from confinement, as we have elsewhere observed, and died beyond sea.

Richard Pate, (or *Pates*), Bp. of *Worcester*, made his escape from the place of his imprisonment; to which he prefer'd the more eligible alternative, a voluntary banishment. In 1545 (*Decemb.* 13) the Council of *Trent* was convened by Pope *Paul the Third*: and the next year after (*viz.* 1546) we meet with our Prelate [*Richardus Patus, Anglus, Wigorniensis Antistes*] amongst the *Tridentine* Fathers. With them he sate, till the Council of *Trent* was removed to *Bononia*. To this city Bp. *Pate* followed the Pope's Legates, by whom he was, soon after, dispatched upon business of importance to *Rome*, but never returned more to the Council. Mr. *D——d* therefore is quite mistaken, when he tells us, that Bp. *Pate* was *at the closing of the Council of Trent*. For it plainly appears, from the *Catalogus Patrum*, (or the names of the subscribing Prelates) that there was but one *English* Bishop at the close of that celebrated Council, and that was

Thomas Goldwel (or *Godwel*) Bp. of S. *Asaph*. He was born, as Mr. *Fuller* informs us, at *Goldwell*, in the parish of *Streatchart*, in *Kent*; and perhaps he might derive his surname from the place of his birth. He was, by profession, a *Clericus Regularis*, or Regular Priest, as Cardinal *Pallavicini* informs us. And Mr. *Addison* in his Travels thro' *Italy*, takes notice, that at *Ravenna* "there is a Convent of *Theatins*, where, among the pictures of several famous men of their order, there is one with this inscription: *P. D. Thomas Gouldvellus Ep. Asis. Tridno. Concilio contra Hæreticos et in Anglia contra Elisabet. Fidei Confessor conspicuus.*" Addison's Remarks, pp. 215, 216.——To avoid Q. *Elizabeth*'s persecution, Bp. *Goldwel* transported himself out of the kingdom, repaired to *Rome*, and from thence to that memorable Council, which was now removed back again from *Bononia*, and resumed at *Trent*. His arri-

val at *Trent* (*an.* 1562) was very acceptable to the Fathers, by whom he was received with no small demonstrations of joy, as Card. *Pallavicini* assures us.—— [*Fuit etiam Dignitatis et Lætitiæ accessio ex Adventu Thomæ Goduelli Episcopi S. Asafi in Anglia, ex Ordine Regularium Clericorum.* [*Card. Palla. Hist. Con. Trid.* p. 240.]—And here he sate till the end of that Council, which terminated *December* 4, 1563. After the Council of *Trent* was brought to a happy concluon, our Prelate set his hand to the *Tridentine* definitions and decrees. See the above-mentioned *Catalogus Patrum*, where you will find the name, surname, native country, and title, expressly subscribed by every Bishop then and there present. And, amongst the rest of the subscribers, we meet with *Thomas Goduelus, Anglus, Episcopus Asaphen.* That he died in *Italy* historians agree: and, perhaps, he might choose to end his days among those of his order at *Ravenna.* But this is not so certain. For, to confess the truth, we can neither find the precise year *when*, nor the place *where*, this worthy Prelate died.

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§ 2.—*By Virtue of the Queen's* Injunctions, *Churches are stript of their* Altars, *and* Images *are removed, and coarsely used... Mr.* Collier's *Thoughts upon this* Exploit: *and his Observation upon the* Bishops' Address to the Queen, *for the Removal of the* Images.

After the example of her father and brother, the Queen begins her Reformation with *injunctions:* and the design of them was to remove and reform both *altars* and *images* clear out of *sight*, and, by degrees out of *mind* too; for fear lest the former should put folks in mind of *Sacrifices*, and the latter should make them think on the *Mysteries* of the Christian Religion, the sufferings of *Christ*, or the Martyrdom of his Saints. And here I cannot help taking notice, that the *demolishing of the altars* was styled, in the silly cant of those times, *the pulling up the Pope's fences, and cultivating the vineyard of the Lord!*

As to images, as soon as they fell into the hands of their enemies, no quarter was to be expected. They were hacked and hewed, broken and burnt, with all the indications of contempt, derision, and seeming detestation!

But give me leave to observe, that if the pulling down of an emperor's statue has heretofore been condemned (and punished too) as a *mutiny* against the government, and an *insult* upon temporal majesty, then, surely, to maltreat the pious *representatives* of the world's Redeemer and *King of eternal Glory* in the most spiteful and malicious manner that can well be imagined, must, without doubt, amount to a very high degree of impiety. Mr. *Collier* is of this opinion; and all unbigotted and unprejudiced men, we presume, will think as he does.

"* To treat images coarsely, and burn them, looks like an affront to those they represent, and is altogether unbecoming Christians. To burn the *figure* of the cross, and especially that of our Saviour, is, to speak softly, a horrid prophanation; and, if we may reason from such indignities done to men, must be superlatively wicked."

But the *Bishops*, it seems, were of a different opinion. They produced a legion of arguments in favour and defence of these *horrid profanations*. They addressed the Queen more than once upon the subject of images, and thought the time long, before she vouchsafed to commit hostilities against them. And in their *second address*, they make a show of arguing from scripture-texts; but so lamentably misapplied, that we do not think it worth our while to trouble our reader with them. Their main argument, however, must not be overlooked. It is drawn from *Deut.* xxvii. where a curse is denounced against those who *made an image an abomination to the Lord, and put it in a secret place*; which they (ridiculous enough) expounded of some chapels in private houses. But to this Mr. *Collier* answers properly enough, by observing, that

"† The dispensations of the Jewish and Christian Religion are different in many points, and therefore there's no arguing from the one to the other. There's no arguing, I say, either from precept or precedent, unless where the grounds are the same; but this cannot be affirmed in the present case. For from this *prohibition*, we can't infer the unlawfulness of *making* a figure of our *Blessed Saviour*. And that the *worship*, and not the *use* of images, was altogether forbidden the *Jews*, may be collected from *Solomon*'s carving *cherubims* upon the walls of the temple, and embellishing the molten sea with oxen and lions. As for the luster and pomp in things in religion, 'tis far from any dangerous

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. vi. p. 463. † *Ibid.* p. 435.

amusement. Had this been an exceptionable circumstance, the temple-service at *Jerusalem*, of God's own institution, would not have been carried on with so much magnificence and expence."

Now, tho' there is nothing criminal in the sober *use* of images, yet D. *Burnet* is positive, that "†These reasons of the Bishops (*weak as they are*) prevailed with the Queen to put it in her Injunctions, to remove all Images out of Churches."

And, indeed, this removal was executed with a vengeance! No image could stand before the Puritanic Bigots in any shape! No, not in the shape of *Christ crucified!* And when there were no more images to batter down, they defaced the monuments of the dead, and destroyed a prodigious number of noble church windows, (which, for beauty and magnificence, were hardly to be matched in any part of the Christian world) only because they happened, most of them, to be curiously embellished and adorned with historical representations of scripture occurrences.

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§ 3.—Q. Elizabeth's *Motives for enjoining the Observation of* Fasting Days; *and Mr.* Collier's *Remarks upon them. . . Her* Apostolical Commission.

THE next thing that occurs to be observed in Q. *Elizabeth*'s conduct, as Head of the Church, is an Order of her Council, setting forth, that "‡The Queen's Majesty of late, entering into some consideration, how that the observation of *embering* and fish days is not so duly looked unto as it ought to be, and is requisite in *policy*, for the maintenance of *mariners* and *fishermen*, hath thought convenient, for that cause, first in her Highness's own houshold, to give strict charge unto the officers for the observation of them. And it is ordered, that they shall be more carefully seen unto and continued than heretofore they have been.—And farther it is declared, that the same is not required for any liking of Popish Ceremonies heretofore used (which utterly are detested) but *only* to maintain the *mariners* and the *navy of this land*, by setting men a fishing, &c."—Upon which Mr. *Collier* makes the following grave remarks.

† *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* Vol. II. p. 298.
‡ *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. vi. pp. 557, 558.

"By this order it appears, the days of abstinence are declared to be kept *only* for promoting the *fishery*, and the encouragement of *seamen*. Now, with submission, to lay the whole stress of *embering* and *abstinence* upon *reasons of state*, is somewhat singular. For to say nothing of *ember-weeks*, the fast of *Lent*, and those of Fridays, reach up to the earliest ages of Christianity. Now this restraint of appetite was always imposed with a prospect upon the other world: 'twas enjoin'd to reduce the senses, and make the mind more absolute. And is it not somewhat a misfortune, that the Apostles' Canons, the authority of the Fathers, and the practice of the Primitive Church, should be struck out of all consideration? And must all this discipline be *only* for the benefit of navigation? Have we no sins to fast for, no temperance to guard? Are we not bound to distinguish times, upon *Spiritual Motives*, and prepare for the solemnities of religion?"

Having thus entertained our reader with Q. *Elizabeth*'s *spiritual* and truly *pious* motives to enjoin the observation of *fish-days*, we shall close this section with a word or two relative to her *Apostolical Commission.*

"† On the 29th of *March* the Queen made a speech to both Houses at the prorogation of Parliament. 'She takes notice, that since God had made her an *over-ruler* of the Church, her negligence could not be excused, if any schism or heresy was connived at. She grants there may be some misbehaviour and omission amongst the body of the Clergy; and that such miscarriage is common to all considerable *offices*.—All which, continues her Majesty, if you, my Lords of the Clergy, do not amend, I mean to depose you.'—Thus the Queen delivers herself, as if she had an *Apostolical Commission* within her dominions, and her power was paramount to the Episcopal College."

And well might the Queen *deliver herself* in this manner! She was persuaded by her flattering court-sycophants, that *her power was paramount to the Episcopal College:* and she acted up to this persuasion in several instances. Add to this, that the *Apostolical Commission* which she challenged *within her dominions*, was most signally displayed in the case of D. *Matthew Parker*, when *Elizabeth* adventured to dispense both with his own and his consecrators' defects, irregularities, disabilities, &c. in the most ample manner and form. And as this is one of the most remarkable ex-

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. vii. p. 595.

ploits of our great *Over-ruler of the Church*, we shall endeavour, with all the brevity the subject will admit of, to lay it fairly before the reader.

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§ 4.—*Preliminary Observations.*

THE design of this Work not being Controversy, we shall endeavour to dispatch, as briefly as possible, the important affair of the Consecration of D. *Matthew Parker*, the first Archbishop of *Canterbury* ordained *à la Protestante*. His Ordination is indeed an *exploit*, which no one that treats of *Q. Elizabeth's* Ecclesiastical Transactions can forbear taking notice of, upon several accounts; but chiefly because it places her Majesty's *Apostolical Commission* in a very conspicuous point of light. But, before we enter directly upon our subject, we beg leave to introduce it with the following preludial observations.

1. This is far from being a new dispute: on the contrary, it may, properly enough, be said to be as old as the Reformation. The famous Bishop *Bonner* was one of the first that begun it, and upon the following occasion.—By virtue of an Act of Parliament (5. *Eliz.* I.) the Protestant Bishops were impowered to tender the *Supremacy Oath* to any ecclesiastical or other persons within their respective dioceses. *Horn*, (at that time styled Bp. of *Winchester*) taking the advantage of this Act, tendered the oath to Bishop *Bonner*, then a prisoner in the *Marshalsea*, which is in the Diocese of *Winchester*. *Bonner* refused the oath, and was indicted in the King's Bench for recusancy. At his appearance there, he confessed the fact, and traversed the indictment; and upon his motion for council, the famous *Ployden* and *Wray* (afterwards Lord Chief Justice) were assigned him. He pleaded, *that Horn was no Bishop when he tendered him the Oath;* and backed his plea with the following reasons: "Because *Horn* was neither *elected* nor *consecrated* pursuant to the *Canons* of the Catholic Church, nor the *laws* and *statutes* of this realm;" and then quotes *Stat.* 25. H. 8. c. 20. The suit, however, was kept depending, and every body in suspense, till the meeting of the Parliament, (8 *Eliz.*) when *Horn* and his colleagues were enacted to be Bishops, by virtue of a statute for that purpose made and provided. And this gave the Catholics a handle to style them *Parliamentary Bishops*. Thus the matter dropt, and *Bonner*, ob-

noxious as he was to the Government, was never after molested about oaths. He had done *Horne*'s business effectually; and it was not thought safe to trust the issue of it even to a Protestant Jury.——If this account should be suspected of partiality, we have Mr. *Fuller*, a Protestant Historian, ready to vouch for the truth of it in every particular.

* *Anno* 1566, 7 *Eliz.*——"In this year began the suit between *Robert Horn*, Bp. of *Winchester*, and *Edmund Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, on this occasion. All Bishops were empowered, by the *Stat.* 5 *Eliz.* to tender the Oath of Supremacy to all persons living within their dioceses. Now Bishop *Bonner* was within the Diocese of *Winchester*, (as being a prisoner in the *Marshalsea*, in *Southwark*) to whom *Horn* offered this Oath, and he refused the taking thereof. Being indicted, he appear'd, confess'd the fact, but denied himself culpable; and intending to traverse the indictment, desired that council might be assigned him. Sir *Robert Cateline*, then Chief Justice, granted his motion, and no meaner than *Ployden*, that eminent lawyer, *Christopher Wray*, and ——— *Lovelace*, were deputed his council. The main matter, which was so much debated amongst all the Judges in the Lord *Cateline*'s chambers, was this:

'Whether *Bonner* could give in *evidence* of that issue that he had pleaded of Not Guilty, that *Horn*, Bp. of *Winchester*, was not a Bishop *Tempore oblationis Sacramenti*, at the time wherein he tendered the Oath to *Bonner*.'

"And it was resolved by them all, that if the truth of the matter was so indeed, that he might give that in evidence upon that issue, and that the jury might try, whether he was then a Bishop or no. Whilst this suit yet depended, the Queen called a Parliament, (*anno* 1567, 8 *Eliz.* which put a period to the controversy, and cleared the *legality* of *Horne*'s Episcopacy, in a Statute enacting, 'That all persons that have been or shall be made, ordered, or consecrate Archbishops, Bishops, &c. after the form and order prescribed in the said order and form how Archbishops, Bishops, &c. should be consecrated, made, and ordered, be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, enacted to be, and shall be, Archbishops, Bishops, &c. any statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.'"

2. From the time of Q. *Elizabeth* down to the present, it has ever been, and still is the constant and prevailing opi-

‡ *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* Book ix. pp. 79, 80.

nion among the Catholics, that *Matthew Parker* was *consecrated,* (if I may be allowed to make use of so improper a term) at the *Nag's Head,* in *Cheapside, John Scory* then and there, laying the Bible on his head, and pronouncing the following uncouth form of words: *Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely.*

3. *Anno Domini* 1613, (and not before) the Catholics were astonished at the publication of certain *Records of Lambeth;* tho' D. *Stapleton* long before, and in the reign of Q. *Elizabeth,* had put this peremptory question to Messieurs *Jewel* and *Horn, Who gave you orders?* To which not one word of answer was ever returned by either of them! No appeal to the *Lambeth*-Records!—However, Bp. *Bramhall,* in his *consecration and succession of Protestant Bishops justified,* (p. 112), replies, that "the reason why Bp. *Jewel* and Bp. *Horn* did not cite these records was, because they had no need to cite them." What! *no need to cite them,* even when they were expressly called upon to answer, and challenged to discover, declare, and pronounce, *who gave them orders? No need to cite* an ordination upon *record,* if then it was *recorded?* But alas! the true reason why *they did not* cite the records of *Lambeth* was, not because they had *no need* so to do, but because *they could not* do it. It was impossible to be done. It was impossible to cite a register, before it had a being! And the Catholics insist upon it, that the *Lambeth*-Records never saw the light till the days of the famous recorder *Mason.*

4. *Bramhall* (p. 113) has the vanity to imagine he has confuted the *Nag*'s *Head* Ordination with the following dilemma.

"Either the Roman Catholic writers of those days were false to their own interest, to smother a thing which (if it had been true) had been so much to their advantage: or the *Nag's Head* Ordination was altogether unknown and unheard of in those days; which is most certain." But how easily is this argument answered, by retorting it upon its author.

'Either the *Protestant* writers of those days were false to their own interest, to smother a thing which (if it had been true) had been so much to their advantage: or the *Lambeth-Register* was altogether unknown and unheard of in those days; which is most certain.'

5. The Catholics ask, if it can be made appear, from any registry or court of faculties, that *Barlow* (whom *Mason* supposes to have been the principal consecrator at *Lambeth*)

was ever a truly consecrated Bishop?—*Bramhall* replies: "That registry where he [*Barlow*] was consecrated, is not so easily found.——But all the *other acts* do appear in their proper courts," (p. 213.) An insipid answer! To which he subjoins, (p. 214) the following concession: "Neither doth his [*Barlow*'s] consecration concern us so much.—There were three consecrators (which is the canonical number) besides him."——But this is as doubtful as the other. And therefore,

6. "Before we proceed farther, it must be observed, what a lame cause this of the consecration of *Parker* is, in all respects.—He [*Barlow*] to whom *Parker* is presented to be consecrated, never consecrated himself that can be proved, and most likely never was. Again, when the great champions *Mason* and *Bramhall*, after all their struggle, cannot make that point out, they fly to another refuge, and tell us, that there were three consecrators besides, and that this is the canonical number. But here we find another, (viz. *Hodgskins*) not rightly named in the original record: so that here is another doubt; and if this hold, they fail of their canonical number, even according to their own account. But be that as it may, if three be the canonical number for others, it is certain it is not the legal number for an Archbishop, when an Archbishop is not one, as is plain in *Stat.* 25. H. 8. c. 20. So that they do deceitfully in that, and *Parker* therefore could be no legal Archbishop."—Mr. *Stevens*, (a P. M.) in his *Gr. Question*.

N. B. The *Stat.* to which we are referred is the following:

'It was ordered by K. *Henry* VIII. [*an. reg.* 25.] that an Archbishop should not be consecrated but by an Archbishop and two Bishops; or by four Bishops, in case an Archbishop was wanting.'—See *Fuller*'s Church History, Book IX. p. 61.

7. *Bramhall* (p. 83.) informs us, that the Queen issued out two commissions (tho' *Mason* can find but one) for the consecrating of D. *Parker*. "The former dated the 9th of *September*, 1559, and directed to

Cuthbert, Bp. of *Durham*,
Gilbert, Bp. of *Bath*,
David, Bp. of *Peterborough*,
Antony, Bp. of *Landaff*,
William Barlow, Bp. and
John Scory, Bp.

"Now if any man desires a reason why the first commission was never executed, the best account I can give him is this; that it was directed to six Bishops, without an [*aut minus*, or at least four of you.] So as if one of these *six* were sick, or absent, or refused, the rest could not proceed to consecrate. And that some of them did refuse, I am very apt to believe, because three of them, *not long after*, were deprived." But this is misrepresenting matter of fact. For the three recusant Catholic Bishops [viz. *Tonstal*, *Bourn*, and *Pool*] were both *deprived* and *imprisoned*, some months *before* the consecration of *Parker* was attempted, for refusing the Oath of Supremacy; as plainly appears from *Stow's Annals*. "In the month of *July*," says our Annalist, "the old Bishops of *England*, then living, were called and examined by certain of the Queen's Majesty's Council, where the Bishops of *York*, *Ely*, and *London*, with others, to the number of thirteen or fourteen, for refusing to take the Oath touching the Queen's Supremacy, and other articles, were deprived from their Bishopricks."—Thus *Stow ad an.* 1 *Eliz.* But to return to *Bramhall*.

The first commission, he owns, was never executed; but then (to mend the matter) he pretends to have found a *second* commission, directed to

Antony, Bp. of *Landaff*;

William Barlow, formerly Bp. of *Bath*, now of *Chichester*, elect;

Miles Coverdale, formerly Bp. of *Exeter*;

John Scory, Bp. of *Chichester*, now of *Hereford*, elect;

Richard, Suffragan of *Bedford*;

John, Suffragan of *Thetford*;

John Bale, Suffragan of *Ossory*, in *Ireland*.

Where note, 1. "That the old Bishop of *Landaff* appeared not at the consecration, terrified (say the Papists) by *Bonner*'s threats."—*Ful.* Ch. Hist. Book IX. p. 61.

Note 2. That the two commissions (to be seen in *Bram.* pp. 83 and 86) are much the same in substance, and differ principally in this, that the *latter* concludes with a *supplentes*; in virtue whereof, the Queen, by her *Supreme Authority Royal*, supplies and dispenses with all defects, inabilities, &c. in the consecrators, &c.

Now, if any man desires a reason why the clause *Supplentes* was not inserted in the first commission, he must be told, that such a clause would have been both ridiculous and impertinent; there being a sufficient number of Catholic Bishops in that list, whose episcopal character was unques-

tionable; which is more than can be said in behalf of any one of those (excepting the first) that are nominated in the second commission. For which reason the Queen refused them the honour to assist at her coronation, as Mr. *Collier* observes. "*The reader," says he, "may possibly be at a loss, why the Queen risqued her being refused at the coronation by so many Bishops of the *Roman* persuasion: for were not *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale* living? Were not these three all hearty in the Reformation? Why then was not the setting the crown on her head offer'd to one of these? To this it may be answered, that these three Bishops were then actually deprived: and the process being not reversed, their character might be questionable."—— And was not their character in the very same questionable situation at the time of *Parker*'s suppos'd consecration?

In a word, though *Elizabeth* scorned to have the Crown of *England* set upon her head by *unconsecrated hands*, nevertheless she *commissioned* those very hands to execute a much more important business, viz. *the Ordination of an Archbishop of* Canterbury.

8. The *validity* of *Parker*'s Ordination can never be proved from the *Lambeth*-Register only, even supposing it to be authentic. For may not an *invalid* Ordination be registered? Were not several invalid consecrations carefully registered long before *Parker*'s was thought of? *Strype*, by examining the *Canterbury*-Register, has found out the year and the day of the month when *Ridley*, *Farrer*, *Poynet*, *Hooper*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, *Taylor*, and *Harley* were *consecrated*, as he calls it. Yet none of these were acknowledged by the Catholics in Queen *Mary*'s time (or ever since) to have been canonically and validly ordained. It is therefore one thing to *prove* the validity of an Ordination; it is another thing, to *chronicle* it: and more than this, nothing is attempted in *Mason*'s Register. Like other common *Chronicles*, it only exhibits the *year* of our Lord, the *day* of the month, (a circumstance wherein Protestants are not as yet agreed) the *names* of the consecrators, their *apparel*, and the *form* made use of (as supposed) upon that occasion. To these our trifling Leptologist adds a long *suite* or train of *impertinent* circumstances, which add not the least grain of weight to the *validation* or *sufficiency* of *Parker*'s Ordination. So that it signifies very little in the main, whether what the ordainers did to D. *Parker* was performed in a

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 412.

chapel or at a tavern; in *Cheapside*, or at *Lambeth*. For, if either the *form* of Ordination was *invalid*, or the Ordainers themselves were *disqualified* for that function, *Parker*'s consecration is still a losing card, notwithstanding its being *registered*. And the Catholics insist upon it, that the *validity* of the *English* Episcopal Ordinations can never be demonstratively proved from the lame authority of a *suspected* Chronicle, wherein is recorded a *disputed* fact.

9. The Catholics seem to be convinced, that *Parker*'s Ordination was not only *invalid*, but *illegal* too. And this they prove, from the circumstance of his being ordained *contrary to the laws* in full force and vigour at the time of his supposed Ordination, *wheresoever* or by *whomsoever* it was attempted. For Queen *Mary*'s laws were not repealed till six years after *Parker*'s turn was served, *i. e.* not till the 8th of *Eliz.* whereas he is said to have been ordained *anno* 2 *Elizab.*—See *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 121.

And here we think proper to put an end to our *Preliminary Observations*. What we have to add to them, shall be comprised under the following heads. And we propose, 1. To give the reader a brief *Historical Account* of this important affair. 2. To inquire into the *Qualifications* of *Parker*'s Consecrators. 3. To consider the *Form* by which the said *Parker* was consecrated. 4. To discover by what *Authority* the *Deficiencies* in this Consecration were supplied. 5. To answer the most material *Objections*.

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§ 5. — *A brief Historical Account of this important Affair.*

Upon the defection of this island from the See Apostolic, in the reign of King *Henry* VIII. when the Supreme Ecclesiastical Power over this National Church was translated from the Pope of *Rome* to the King of *Great Britain;* and when no *English* Prelate was allowed to take the Oath of Canonical Obedience to his Holiness, all Ordinations conferred at that juncture, and in such circumstances, were by the Catholics accounted *uncanonical* and *schismatical;* and consequently, with regard to *Jurisdiction*, entirely void: yet few, I believe, ever questioned their *validity*. It is certain that King *Henry* VIII. made no great alterations in the public Service of the Church: for if we except some few deletions (such as expunging S. *Thomas* of *Canterbu-*

ry's office, and the offices of some other saints, which, by the King's injunctions, were forbid to be recited, and his blotting the Pope's name out of those *collects* wherein he was usually prayed for) the rest of the *Missal* remained in *statu quo*. So likewise did the *Roman Pontifical* and the *Ritual* continue unaltered and unreformed; and consequently, the *old Form of Ordination* maintain'd its ground till the death of this Monarch. But,

Upon King *Edward*'s accession, the face of the Church was entirely changed. His ministry immediately *exterminated* and *extinguished* the Catholic Ordinal, to make room for a *new one*. Of which, however, the Catholics had so mean an opinion, that such as were ordained according to the form *devised* and prescribed by K. *Edward* VI. were then, and have ever since been, looked upon by them as persons advanced to H. Orders not only *uncanonically*, but *invalidly*; and for these reasons:

First, because Holy Orders were not esteemed or regarded by the *Zuinglio-Calvinists* of this reign as a sacrament, but only as a mere extrinsical denomination, form, or formality, (call it which you will) of appointing ministers to officiate publicly. And *Cranmer* himself was clearly of opinion, that *election* or *appointment* to the ministry was quite sufficient to make a Bishop or a Priest, without the *formality* of Ordination. See the *App.* No. XIX.

Secondly, because all power, both *spiritual* and *temporal*, was held to be derived from the civil magistrate, and particularly from the King.

Thirdly, because all the Bishops of this reign were obliged to take out commissions from his Majesty, to *ordain* and perform the rest of their Episcopal Functions; and all this only *durante beneplacito Regis*.

Fourthly, because those that were advanced to the Priesthood, according to the *New Form* of Ordination, were not invested with any power to consecrate the Holy *Eucharist*, which even *Bramhall* himself, (p. 226), acknowledges to be a power which *Priests ought to have*. Add to this, that the word *Priest* is not so much as mentioned in King *Edward*'s Form of Ordination.

And thus was the Priesthood completely *degraded* by the secular power, and the Reformed Church of *England* by consequence *unchurched* from the beginning. For a church that cannot be, as S. *Jerome* observes, which has no Priests in it, *Ecclesia non est quæ non habet Sacerdotes*. S. Hier. ad Lucif.—And, *That cannot be call'd a Church*,

says the holy Martyr Ignatius, *where these are wanting,* Χωρὶς τ᾽των ἐκκλησία ᾽ϐ καλεῖται. *S. Ign. Ep. ad Tral.*

In the reign of Queen *Mary*, the whole legislative power of this realm, in Parliament assembled, solemnly declared King *Edward*'s Bishops to have been and to be *invalidly* ordained. This is confessed by D. *Heylin*. "† *Hooper*, of *Gloucester*, was commanded to attend the Lords of the Council on the 22d of *August*, and committed prisoner not long after, was outed of his Bishoprick immediately on the ending of the Parliament, in which *all* consecrations were declared to be void and null which had been made according to the Ordinal of King *Edward the Sixth*."

In the reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, the Catholics looked upon *Parker*'s ordination (and look upon it at this day) to be, and to have been, both *illegal* and *invalid*. Illegal, because *contrary to the laws*, actually unrepealed and in full force at the time of his *supposed* consecration: and invalid, from the want of *abilities* in the consecrators, and from a *defective form* pronounced by them on this occasion. Both which *particulars* shall be more distinctly considered hereafter.

In the reign of King *James the First*, the reformed Prelates of *England* began to make a mighty pother and noise about the *validity* of their ordinations forsooth; pretending, that the celebrated *Matthew Parker* had been consecrated with great solemnity at *Lambeth*: and to make good this pretension, Mr. *Mason*, by direction of Archbp. *Abbott*, obtruded upon the public his *Lambeth* Record, as he calls it. But, from the numerous inconsistencies, anachronisms, &c. &c. that appear upon the face of it, the Catholics are induced to pronounce it *a spurious instrument*.

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§ 6.—*Some Account of* Parker's *Consecrators.*

With regard to the persons mentioned in Q. *Elizabeth*'s second commission, D. *Heylin* observes, that "‡ The first and two last [i. e. *Antony Kitchin*, the Suffragan of *Thetford*, and *Bale*] either hindered by sickness, or some other lawful impediment, were not in a condition to attend the service, which, notwithstanding, was performed by the

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 38. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 121.

other four, [viz. *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgskins*.] But whether these men were duly qualified to perform the important *service* of consecrating an Archbishop, is a point which we are now about to consider. We shall examine them all *four* distinctly and separately, beginning with the principal consecrator.

William Barlow.

1. "[It is a wonderful thing," says my Author, "by what chance or providence it happen'd, that *Barlow*'s consecration, who was the principal actor in this [of *Parker*'s] should no where appear, nor any positive proof of it be found, in more than fourscore years since it was first questioned, by all the search that could be made by so many curious, learned, and industrious persons, as Mr. *Mason*, employed by the Archbishop, and all the assistants he had in his time, whose book was printed in 1613, and again, with additions, in 1625 and 1638; Bp. *Bramhall*, and all the assistance he could procure in his time, about the year 1657; D. *Burnet*, encouraged by the Parliament, in 1679, and all the helps and many assistants he had; and the indefatigable Mr. *Wharton*, who had corrected and discovered so many faults, oversights and mistakes in others, besides many others," [it is, I say, a wonderful thing, that notwithstanding all this prodigious search, it should *no where appear*] "that he [*Barlow*] was ever consecrated at all.

"*Mason* and *Bramhall* take much pains to prove it by *circumstances* and *probabilities*, for that all things were done for him, and to him, and by him, that belong to a true and compleat Bishop, except only that of *consecration*;—especially from the *restitution of his temporalities*, which they would have us believe is *always* after consecration. But whatever it ought to be, either by law or custom, it was not then *always* so observed; as before in the case of *Stokesley*, Bp. of *London*, who had his temporalities *July* 14, 1430, and was not consecrated till *November* 27th after. And since twice in the case of *Bonner*, who, elected Bp. of *Hereford*, had restitution of his temporalities to his proctor, while he himself was yet beyond sea; and afterwards elected Bp. of *London*, had his temporalities *Nov.* 18, 1539, and yet was not consecrated till *April* 4, 1540.

"Nor is it more strange, that of all the acts necessary for that purpose, the Consecration should be omitted, espe-

cially at a time when it was set so light by, than that of all the records and entries of those acts, *that* only of the Consecration, if there had been any, should be wanting, when *all the other acts do appear in their proper courts*, as *Bramhall* tells us."---*Great Quest.* p. 4.

To evade these difficulties, which cannot easily be answered, *Bramhall* is forced to have recourse to *casualties*. He wisely supposes, *p.* 184, that *fire, or thieves, or some such casualty, might destroy or purloin the record.* But pray, Sir, where, when, and how, did that destructive conflagration happen? And, if it happened at all, how came that *single* act to perish in the flames, when all the rest *appear in their proper courts?* As to the thief, all we can say of him is, that he must have been uncommonly clever and adroit, to purloin a testimonial, or nim a *Consecration*-Act, which, in all probability, never existed *in rerum natura!*

Add to this the authority of Mr. *Strype*, who, in the Preface to his *Memorials of the Life of Archbishop* Cranmer, assures us, that he has taken particular care to set down, under every year, what Bishops, diocesan and suffragan, were consecrated in the province of *Canterbury*. And from his extract of the *Canterbury*-Register, we have seemingly a tolerable account of *Episcopal Ordinations*, from *Cranmer* down to *Harley*, the last of the *Edwardian* Prelates: To give some instances: "*Hodgskins*," he tells us, "was consecrated *December* the 9th, 1537. But to what See is not mentioned.---*Scory* and *Coverdale* were both consecrated [the first for *Rochester*, the latter for *Exeter*] on the same day, viz. *Aug.* 30, 1551, according to King *Edward*'s Ordinal."---This is pretty clear. But concerning *Barlow*, he only drops this obscure hint: "*Barlow, Sept.* 15, 1535, elect of S. *Asaph*.---Memorandum. The Consecration not inserted in the Register." And if so, where must we seek for it? For though *Bramhall* had strictly examined the records of *Lambeth*, and *Strype*, with equal diligence, had conned over those of *Canterbury*, yet neither the one nor the other has been able, after all, to discover the least vestige of *Barlow*'s Consecration.

2. "The short space between his [*Barlow*'s] election to S. *Asaph* and translation to S. *David*'s, and his absence in *Scotland*, might well prevent his *Consecration* for that time, and the *Translation*, especially if he continued any considerable time in *Scotland*, might make his Consecration, when he came home, never question'd or thought of; especially having

his Spiritualities by the Archbishop's Confirmation, and his Temporalities restored by the King. And it is likely enough he might concur with the Archbishop in slight thoughts of such a formality." (*G. Qu.*)---Nay, it is something more than *likely*, it is even a *certainty*, that he did concur with *Cranmer* in *slight* thoughts of Ordination. It is clearly proved in the *Appendix*, No. XIX.

To which we shall add another flagrant proof of *Barlow*'s disaffection, or rather contempt of holy Orders, from Mr. *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. ii. p. 135. "The northern rebels charged some of the Bishops with innovating in religion. 'Tis probable they had some reason for this complaint; for *Barlow*, Bp. of S. *David's*, was inform'd against, for delivering in a sermon, among other things, the following passage: '*Item*. That if the King's Grace, being Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, did chuse, denominate, and elect any layman, (being learned) to be a Bishop, that he so chosen (without mention of Orders) should be as good a Bishop as himself, or the best in *England*.'"

Now can it be supposed that such a man as this, and possessed as he was with so mean and contemptible an opinion of Ordination, should be at all solicitous, whether what was done to D. *Matthew Parker* (in supposition of his having been ordained at *Lambeth*) was valid or invalid, legal or illegal, right or wrong?—And as for *Barlow* himself, upon consulting the writings of those that have taken the most pains to elucidate his *Episcopal Ordination*, we do not meet with so much as one single *positive* proof that he ever was a *consecrated* Bishop. And therefore,

3. To sum up the evidence: If *Barlow* was ever honoured with Episcopal Consecration, it is an event that must have happened, either in the reign of K. *Henry* VIII. K. *Edward* VI. or Queen *Elizabeth*; but it does not appear to have happened in any of those periods. We may therefore conclude it happened not at all.

To begin with the reign of K. *Henry* VIII. At the time of the general dissolution of the Monasteries, when some conscientious superiors of Religious Houses (because they had the courage to assert the *rights* and *liberties* of the Church, and to stand up in defence of *possessions* given to God,) were rewarded with an axe or a halter; this *Judas*, this betrayer of his trust, without the least seeming reluctance, or scruple of conscience, gave into the destructive scheme, and, for the ready and nimble surrender of his Convent, suddenly became a mighty Court-favourite. From

Court he was sent Ambassador into *Scotland*; but whether a Bishop at that juncture or not, or of what see, authors vary. Some will have it, that he was then Bp. of S. *Asaph*, others call him Bp. of S. *David*'s; but they must be understood to speak proleptically; for the Author of the *Athenæ Oxonienses* (p. 98) assures us, that when *Barlow* set out for *Scotland*, he was only Prior of *Bysham*. "And by that *name* and *title*, he was sent on an embassy into *Scotland*; as I shall tell you elsewhere." And truly our Author is as good as his word. For, p. 573, he tells us expressly, that "*William Barlow* succeeded *H. Standish* in the latter end of the year 1535, who a little before (in the same year) was sent into *Scotland* with one *Holcroft*, about points of religion against the Pope; at which time, he, the said *Barlow*, was styled Prior of *Bysham*."——Hence it plainly appears, that *Prior Barlow* began his journey to *Scotland a little before* he succeeded Bp. *Standish* in the See of S. *Asaph*; consequently, at his departure for *Scotland*, he could not be Bp. of S. *Asaph*, and much less Bp. of S. *David*'s, as *Burnet*, *Strype*, and some others, very confidently, but falsely assert.

In short, the whole of this affair, as far as I can perceive, and in all probability amounts to nothing more than this. While Prior *Barlow* was in *Scotland*, (but not before he started) he was *nominated* to the See of S. *Asaph*, and before (or perhaps immediately upon) his return into *England*, was *translated* to S. *David*'s; but as for his *Ordination*, as *Barlow* entertained a contemptible opinion of that *formality*, so neither did the King, at this conjuncture, trouble his head much about it. It was enough for him, as *Dugdale* has observed, to advance *Cranmer*, *Barlow*, and some *more of the Protestant Clergy, to Bishoprics and high places, to strengthen himself against the Pope*. These were his tools. But whether *ordained* or *unordained*, it was all one to *Old Harry*. All he required of them, was a hearty concurrence with him in the gratification of his implacable revenge against the See of *Rome*.

In fine, Mr. *Strype*, in his *Memorials of the Life of Archbp.* Cranmer, p. 98, discovers the purport and design of *Barlow*'s embassy to *Scotland*. "That nation, then," says he, "had a great aversion to the Reformation, for they highly disliked the courses King *Henry* took. Which prejudices the King understanding, endeavoured to take off, by sending *Barlow*, Bp. of S. *David*'s, (so called, we presume, by anticipation) to *Scotland*, with the book of

the Institution of a Christian Man. Which nevertheless made no great impression upon that people."—The book was rejected by King *James* as *unorthodox:* and our *negociator* returned from the north *re infectâ.* However, it is generally agreed that *Barlow,* at his return home, had the *temporalities* of S. *David*'s restored to him by the King; but no news of his *consecration* during this reign.

In the next reign, *Barlow* was translated from S. *David*'s to *Bath* and *Wells,* by the King's *Letters Patents.* And though some pretend that *Farrer* was the first man that ever obtained a Bishopric by virtue of a Royal Patent, and without *capitular election,* yet it is certain that *Barlow* was the man. *Burnet* himself confesses this to be fact; and so does *Bramhall.* And it is highly consistent with reason, to imagine that *Barlow* should first be removed (by Letters Patents) to *Bath* and *Wells,* before a vacancy could happen for *Farrer* at S. *David*'s. Add to this, that *Bramhall* (p. 190) produces two commissions out of the Court of Chancery, to confirm this supposition. In the first commission, *Barlow*'s translation to *Bath* and *Wells* is dated 3. *Feb.* 2. E. 6; and the second commission for the consecration of *Robert Farrer* to the Bishopric of S. *David*'s (*per translationem Willelmi Barlow,* &c.) is dated 3. *Jul.* [*Burnet* says *Aug.* 1] 2. E. 6. So that it is plain "It must be *Barlow,* and not *Farrer,* who first enjoyed the benefit of such *Letters Patents.*" *Heyl. Hist. Ref.* p. 70.

Finally, in the reign of Q. *Elizabeth, Barlow* was translated to *Chichester.* And this was his last stage.

Now here, it must be owned, we have plenty of *translations,* and all of them to be found (says *Bramhall*) *in their proper courts.* Nevertheless, since *Barlow*'s Consecration-act does not appear upon the face of any record or register in *Great Britain,* it is very reasonable to conclude, *he never was a consecrated Bishop.* And such was *Barlow*'s *episcopal,* now to his *moral* character.

4. "‡ He was bred a Canon Regular of the Order of S. *Austin,* in the Monastery of S. *Osith,* in *Essex,* and partly among those of his Order in *Oxon,* and there obtained a competency in theology, of which faculty, as it is said, he was a Doctor. Afterwards he was made Prior of the Canons of his Order at *Bysham,* near *Maidenhead,* in *Berkshire,* and by that *name* and *title* he was sent on an embassy to *Scotland.*" [King *Henry* successively advanced him to

‡ *Athenæ Oxonienses,* p. 98.

the Bishoprics of S. *Asaph* and S. *David*'s, and K. *Edward* to *Bath* and *Wells*.] "Upon Queen *Mary*'s coming to the Crown, he was deprived of his Bishoprick for being married; whereupon retiring with many others into *Germany*, under pretence of religion, he lived there in a poor, exiled condition. At length, when Queen *Elizabeth* succeeded, he was made Bp. of *Chichester*."

And this is all the *account* we can give of this man, which, we presume, may be somewhat *illustrated* with the following supplemental remarks. 1. While *Barlow* was in possession of *Bath* and *Wells*, he committed monstrous dilapidations on that see, and shamefully squandered away (without fear or wit) the Church's patrimony. "In King *Edward*'s reign being Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, he alienated from him and his successors much land to the Crown." Thus mutters D. *Bramhall*, p. 190. But D. *Heylin* is not afraid or ashamed to speak out. "He gratified the Lord Protector with a present of eighteen or nineteen manors, which anciently belonged to this See." *Heyl. Hist. Ref.* pp. 54 and 130. A handsome gratification! a noble *present* of *much land*, and worthy the *piety* of Bp. *Barlow*! 2. By conversing with the *Puritan* malecontents in *Germany*, he was thoroughly rivetted in his disesteem, or rather contempt, of *Ordinations* and the *episcopal character*, which he retained to his dying day. 3. "Whatever was his *learning*, it seems his *vertue* was so little, and the offence he and *Scory* had given, so great, that they were never so much as restored by Q. *Elizabeth* to their former Sees, but put into meaner ones, as the Historian [*Burnet*] informs us. Nor would she be crowned by either of them, tho' she could hardly get another to do it."—*G. Ques. Bur. H. Ref.* Vol. II. B. ii. p. 275.

John Scory.

Of this usurper of the See of *Chichester* we find very little recorded in history. And notwithstanding that in process of time he turned out a *famous Consecrator*, yet we imagine it will be no easy matter to prove that he ever was a Bishop, validly ordained. *Strype* (from the authority of *Regist. Cant.*) tells us, that *Scory* was ordained Bp. of *Rochester* according to the *New Ordinal*, *Aug.* 30, 1551. But *Bramhall* (p. 80) dates his Ordination (not in *figures*, which are more liable to mistakes, but in *words* at full length) *the thirteenth day of August*. And for this he quotes in the

margin, *Reg. Cran. Fol.* 334. But whether *Cant.* or *Cran.* or both, or neither, be in the right, is a matter of no importance. So leaving these writers and registers to litigate about the date of *Scory*'s Episcopal Ordination, this we can advance as a certainty, that *all Ordinations* conferred by K. *Edward*'s New Ordinal, were solemnly declared, in the succeeding reign, *to be null and void.* However, upon Bishop *Day's* ejectment by King *Edward*'s ministry, *Scory* (whether ordained or not) made a shift to get into possession of the Episcopal Chair of *Chichester.* But no sooner was Queen *Mary* advanced to the throne, than he quitted the kingdom, and became *Superintendant of an* English *Congregation at Embden.* Returning home in the next reign, it is positively asserted and maintained by some, that *Scory* was *Parker's only Consecrator* at the Nag's Head Tavern, in *Cheapside;* while others *suppose* him to have been one of the assistant-consecrators in a chapel at *Lambeth.* But be that as it will, as soon as *Parker* was *bishoped,* (no matter *where* or *how*) *Scory* was promoted by Queen *Elizabeth* to the See of *Chichester.*

As to the moral character of this man, we do not find it drawn to any great advantage even by Protestant pens. *Strype* indeed pretends to say, that *Scory continued always firm to the purity* (as he calls it) *of religion.* But Mr. *Wharton,* who has detected a great many of Mr. *Strype*'s inaccuracies and mistakes (and *this* among the rest) with more reason, and upon better authority, assures us, that "‡ *Scory* was so far from continuing always firm to the purity of religion, that in the beginning of Queen *Mary*'s reign, he reconciled himself to the See of *Rome,* submitted himself to Bishop *Bonner,* made a formal recantation, and did open penance for his marriage. However, afterwards he resumed his former principles, when he had got beyond sea." And truly, if all be true that is said of him, his morals were as *bad* as his principles were *base.* For he lived not only a public scandal to the mitre he had snatched from the head of Bishop *Day,* which is the common charge against him, (but what is still worse) the particular profligacy of his life rendered him obnoxious to the laws of his country; of whose just severity he must have tasted, had he not, with a round sum of money, purchased his *quietus.* For Mr. *Fuller* tells

‡ See *Wharton* upon *Strype,* at the end of *Strype*'s Appendix.---See also *Bonner*'s certificate that *Scory* had put away his wife, in *Burnet*'s Collection of Records, Vol. II. No. XIII.

us, that a bill of indictment was actually preferred against him in the Star-chamber, for no less crimes than "* *oppressions*, extorsions, and simonies; containing matter enough, not only to disgrace, but degrade him if prosecuted. But he bought out his innocence with money."

Miles Coverdale,

Some time an *Austin* Friar; but quitting his habit, and his religion with it, he retired into *Germany*, and assisted *Tindal* in his wicked translation of the Bible. "†He lived for the most part at *Tubingen*, an University belonging to the Duke of *Saxony*, where he received the degree of Doctor."—Returning into *England* in King *Edward*'s reign, he was, upon Bp. *Vesey*'s deposition, (or resignation as some call it) advanced to the See of *Exeter*, being ordained on the same day with *Scory*, and according to the new form prescribed by King *Edward*'s Ordinal, as we have already observed. Queen *Mary* being crowned, *Coverdale* was obliged to take another trip into *Germany*, where he shewed himself a confirmed Puritan; and, in the subsequent troubles at *Frankfort*, became a mighty stickler against King *Edward*'s Common Prayer-Book. Being called upon by Q. *Elizabeth* (for want of a better) to make one of *Parker*'s assistant-consecrators (if there be any truth in *Mason*'s story, which yet the Catholics deny) our *German Doctor* could not be prevailed upon, by any means, to put on the episcopal habiliments, or to assist at the *supposed* solemnity, in any other shape than that of a formal *Puritan*, in a *long woollen gown*, as Mr. *Mason* describes him. [*Milo vero Coverdallus non nisi togâ laneâ talari utebatur.*]—And D. *Heylin* gives us this reason for it, viz. his *disaffection* to the *episcopalia*. "‡ As for *Miles Coverdale*, he did not only wave the acceptation of *Exon*, but of any other Church then vacant.—Somewhat might be in it of disaffection to the [episcopal] habit; which it is to be believed the rather, because he attended not at the Consecration in his Cope and Rochet, as others did, but in a plain *black* gown, reaching down to his ankles."

Now here we beg leave to throw in an observation or two which this quotation naturally suggests. And

First, we observe, that D. *Heylin* has transmitted to

* *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* B. IX. p. 178.
† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 100. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 123.

posterity a grand secret, an important discovery! and what should that be, but the *colour*, the identical *colour* of *Miles Coverdale*'s long gown! And we are very much surprised, that a *particularity* of such *importance* could possibly escape the knowledge of the acute Mr. *Mason*; especially when we consider how *affectedly*, and even *ridiculously* circumstantial he labours to appear, through the whole process of his *supposed Lambeth*-Ordination!

Secondly, we observe, that these words, *as others did*, seem to imply, that though *Coverdale* did not, yet all the others did assist in their Copes and Rochets. But this is contradicted by *Mason* himself, who represents the Suffragan of *Bedford* as much a Puritan in *querpo*, and as formal and precise a figure as old *Coverdale*. And in order to prove this, it will be requisite to subjoin a word or two relative to this same

Suffragan *Hodgskins*.

But, with regard to this man, sorry we are that it is not in our power, with any tolerable degree of certainty, to gratify the reader's curiosity or our own. We dare not peremptorily transcribe his name, for fear of lapsing into a mistake. *Bramhall* will have him to be *Richard*, *Mason* calls him *John*. Again, *Mason* styles him Suffragan of *Bedford*; *Strype* (from no less authority than *Cant. Reg.*) assures us, that *the See* (as he calls it) *is not mentioned in the Register*. Some suppose it to be *Bedford*, others *Dover*. In short, so little can be positively advanced with relation to this man, either from history or the records, that, perhaps, he may not improperly be compared to *a ghost in a play*, which dramatic writers introduce or conjure up, only to act its part, and then vanish off the stage. And truly this seems to have been *Hodgskins*' case. For after *Parker*'s Consecration at *Lambeth*, (if that was the scene of action) he immediately disappears, and we hear no more of him.

As to his principles, we conjecture they were much of the same stamp with those of the famous old Puritan *Miles Coverdale*. Nay, this appears to be something more than mere conjecture, from *Mason*'s own Register, wherein it is expressly held forth, that at *Lambeth*, (supposing *Parker* to have been ordained there) *Coverdale* and *Hogdskins* disdained to suffer either Copes or Rochets, or any such-like *Popish* gear, to come upon their backs, but *assisted* (and undoubtedly cut puritanical figures) in their *long gowns*.—

[*Coverdallus vero et Bedfordiæ Suffraganeus, togis solummodò talaribus utebantur.*]—And such were *Parker*'s consecrators!

In fine, since, we apprehend, it will prove a hard matter to make good, or *justify* the title and pretensions of *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgskins*, to the episcopal character, we have reason to conclude, that *Parker*'s Ordination can appear in no other light or colour than that of a *lame cause*; and so very lame indeed, as to *halt on all four*.

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§ 7.—What *Form of Ordination was made use of in the Reign of K.* Edward VI... When, *upon what* Account, *and by* whom *corrected?*

We shall begin our remarks upon the *Form of making Bishops*, &c. in the days of King *Edward the Sixth*, with *Heylin*'s account of it, which is this:

"† *Nov.* 4, 1559, it was enacted in Parliament, 'That such form and manner of making and consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church, as by six Prelates, and six other learned men, learned in God's Law, by the King to be appointed and assigned, or by the most number of them, shall be devised for that purpose, and set forth under the Great Seal, before the first of *April* next coming, shall be lawfully exercised and used, and no other.'" Now the Form *devised* by a majority in this committee, was thus expressed.

Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the Grace of God which is now in thee, by the imposition of hands: for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.

And according to this new-invented form, the celebrated D. *Parker* is *supposed* by Mr. *Mason* (in his *supposititious* Register) to have been consecrated at *Lambeth*: and D. *Heylin* seems to confirm this *supposition*, when he tells us, that "‡ The service was performed according to the Ordinal of King *Edward the Sixth*, then newly published for that purpose."

But to this the Catholics reply, that K. *Edward's Form and manner of making Bishops*, &c. comes not up to the

† *Heylin's Hist. Presb.* p. 82. ‡ *Idem*, p. 121.

design nor answers the *purpose* of valid Ordinations. They observe, that there is nothing in the *form* and *manner* expressive of the *order*, *power*, *character*, *office*, or *duty* of a Bishop. They observe, (what even *Bramhall* and *Mason* acknowledge) that no Ordination is to be esteemed *valid*, unless there be *fit words* to determine the outward *rites*, so and in such manner as to signify the *Order* given. And therefore, since neither the *Order given*, nor so much as the word Bishop, &c. are expressed in the *Edwardian* Form, the Catholics conclude it must be a very insufficient one. Nay, the Church-of-England Protestants seem to acknowledge, in *fact*, as much as this comes to. Witness the new edition of K. *Edward*'s Ordinal, which was published (with considerable amendments) upon the following occasion.

Anno 1662, a book entitled *Erastus Senior*, appeared in public. The author of that performance demonstratively proves, that K. *Edward*'s Form of *making* Bishops, Priests, &c. has nothing in it that denotes expressly (or so much as by implication) the *office* or *character* of a Bishop, Priest, &c. Upon which the Convocation, then sitting, took it into their heads to make some *alterations* and *improvements* in the said *Form*; of which the following is an exact copy, a faithful transcript.

'Receive the Holy Ghost ["for the office and work of a *Bishop* in the Church of God, committed unto thee by the imposition of *our* hands. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."] And remember thou stir up the grace of God, which is *given* thee by the imposition of *our* hands; for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.'

Now here indeed we have the *office* and *work* of a Bishop very dexterously *hocus-pocus'd* into the *Edwardian* Form of Ordination, but to what purpose, the Catholics desire to be informed. For if, previously to these amendments, the Ordination-Form was *right*, *sufficient*, and *valid*, what could induce the Convocation to alter it? But if (before these last corrections) it was *wrong*, *insufficient*, and *invalid*, does it not inevitably follow. that the present Clergy of the Church of *England* have derived, and do still derive their *Orders* from a succession of Bishops, who, for an hundred years and upwards, were, not one of them, rightly, sufficiently, or validly ordained? But more of this in our answer to the third objection.

§ 8.—Q. Elizabeth *dispenses with all* Irregularities *and Defects in* Parker's *Consecration.*

From what we have already advanced upon this subject, it seems pretty plain, that *Parker*'s consecrators were not a little deficient in their Episcopal Character, or *Power of Order*, which may not, perhaps, be improperly compared to a *magni nominis umbra ;* nor does their *Power of Jurisdiction* appear, upon enquiry, to be better grounded. For what Power of Jurisdiction can be supposed to be lodged in the hands of those, who, in the Queen's Commission, and *Mason*'s Register, are only styled *quondam* Bishops, or Bishops *elect ?* They had been legally outed and deprived of their Bishopries by Queen *Mary ;* and in this state of *deprivation*, and stript as they were of *all manner* of Jurisdiction, how they could nevertheless confer (what they had not) a *Metropolitical Jurisdiction* on *Matthew Parker*, is unaccountable.

We grant, indeed, that it had been enacted by *Stat.* 1. *Eliz.* 1. that 'her Majesty might assign, name, and authorize any persons, being natural born subjects to her Highness, to exercise all manner of *Spiritual* Jurisdiction.' But still it does not appear plain to us, that her Highness had any *Pastoral Jurisdiction* herself, to give to any body. We grant also, that *Barlow* and *Scory* had both been *nominated* by Q. *Elizabeth* to Bishoprics, the first to *Chichester*, the latter to *Hereford ;* but then it seems, they were not *confirmed* in those sees, and consequently could have no *actual* jurisdiction at or before the time of *Parker*'s Ordination. A circumstance ingenuously confessed by D. *Heylin.*

"† No sooner was the solemnity ended, but a *new mandate* comes for the confirmation of D. *Barlow* in the See of *Chichester*, and D. *Scory* to the See of *Hereford.* And tho' the not restoring them to their former Sees, might seem to justify Queen *Mary* in their deprivation, yet the Queen wanted not good reasons for their present removal."

What reasons might induce Q. *Elizabeth* to remove these gentry from one Bishopric to another, the Doctor does not tell us ; nor is it, I believe, worth any body's while to enquire : but what reason (*good* or *bad*) can be assigned or pretended, why she did not *confirm* them in their respective Sees, and *invest* them with *actual* Jurisdiction (if it were in

† *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* p. 123.

her power so to do) before she *commissioned* them to *ordain?* This, methinks, should have been done at the *beginning*, not at the *end* of the *solemnity*.

However, these unlucky *omissions*, and all other *disabilities*, *irregularities*, and *defects* in the consecrators, (for *Bramhall* himself confesses that *Miles Coverdale's woollen gown needed a dispensation*) were *happily* supplied, by affording her Majesty a fine opportunity to display her *Apostolical Commission* to great advantage, and to distinguish *the Royal Mandate for Parker's Consecration*, in a very *significant* manner, by the following *dispensative* clause, with which it concludes.

'Supplying nevertheless, by our *Supreme Authority Royal*, whatever is or shall be wanting in you, or any of you, to perform the premises, whether in the things which, pursuant to our commission aforesaid, shall be done by you, or in your *condition*, *state*, or *faculty*, which by the statutes of this kingdom, or by the ecclesiastical laws in this part, are required, or are necessary: the condition of the times, and the necessity of things, requiring it.'—Vide *App.* No. XX.

However, this *dispensation from the throne*, notwithstanding its *amplitude*, was both rallied and ridiculed, even by *the common sort of people*. Wherefore, to remedy this *epidemical* obloquy, and audacity of *speech and talk*, immediate recourse was had to (the old refuge) an Act of Parliament, part of which we thought it might not be improper, in this place, to subjoin.

'† For as much as divers questions, by over-much boldness of speech and talk, amongst many of the common sort of people, being unlearned, hath lately grown, upon the making and consecrating of Archbishops and Bishops, within this realm, whether the same were and be duly and orderly done.——Whereupon our said Sovereign Lady the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, in her Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*, hath not only used such words as were accustomed to be used by King *Henry* and King *Edward*, her Majesty's father and brother, but also hath put into her Majesty's said Letters Patents divers other general words and sentences, whereby her Highness, by her supreme power and authority, hath [N. B.] dispensed with all causes and doubts of any *imperfection* or *disability* that can or may be objected against the same.—So

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. vi. pp. 509, 510.

that, to all those who will considier the *supreme* and *absolute* authority which she hath used and put in ure, in the *making* and consecrating of the said Archbishops and Bishops, it is evident, that no cause of scruple, ambiguity, or doubt, can be justly objected against the said consecrations, &c.'

But, notwithstanding Q. *Elizabeth*'s *supreme* and *absolute* power and authority, which was *put in ure* upon this occasion, there is still a large field left open to endless *scruples*, *ambiguities*, and *doubts*. To give some instances.

It may be doubted whether Q. *Elizabeth*, with all her plenitude of power, could ascertain or warrant that Ordination to be *legal* and *canonical*, which was against the *laws* and *canons*.

It may be, and still is doubted, whether the momentous affair was transacted in *Cheapside* or at *Lambeth*.

It may be doubted, whether *Parker*'s consecrators (supposing *Lambeth* to have been the place) made use of a *valid* form of words, or were *validly* ordained Bishops themselves. And therefore we may conclude, that,

> "If *Parker*'s consecrators be
> No Bishops, then no Bishop he:
> He none, then we may truly say,
> Not one in all the world have they."
> *Ward's Ref. Cant.* IV.

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§ 9.—*Objections answered.*

Obj. 1.—"THO' *Barlow* and *Scory* were deprived of their Episcopal Sees, yet the justice and legality of their deprivation was not clear in law." *Heyl. Hist. Ref.* p. 122.

In answer to this objection, two things are to be considered, *viz.* the *legality* and the *justice* of *Barlow*'s and *Scory*'s deprivation.

With regard to the first, we think it but ill becomes D. *Heylin* to dispute the *legality* of the fact in question, who takes care to inform us, that not only *Barlow* and *Scory*, but likewise all the rest of his *new incumbents*, (as he calls them) were deprived by *Act of Parliament*, i. e. by a law made by the people of *England* in their legislative capacity, without any violence, tumult, undue influence, or indirect means. And if such an act, and attended with all these circum-

stances, may not be allowed to be a *legal* one, where must we seek for *legality of facts?*

As to the *justice* of *Barlow* and *Scory*'s deprivation, it is as well grounded as its legality is incontestable. They were both deprived on account of their *uncanonical marriages;* to which if we add their disedifying conduct and *offensive* behaviour (which even *Burnet* himself cannot conceal) we must confess their deposition deserves to be styled a necessary *act of justice.* For we suppose it must be allowed to be an act of distributive justice in any crowned head, to punish notorious delinquents.

The sentence therefore of deprivation, pronounced in the days of Queen *Mary*, upon *Barlow* and *Scory*, had all the *legality* in it that the three states of this realm, in Parliament assembled, could give it; and all the *justice* that could be expected or desired, in a case where it was necessary for scandalous offenders to meet with condign punishment. So that, all things duly considered, the *uncanonical attempts* of *Barlow* and *Scory* (supposing nothing else had been urged against them) might well *seem to justify Queen* Mary, (as the Doctor expresses himself) *in their deposition.*

But he pretends, "They neither were nor could be depriv'd of their Episcopal Character."—*Heyl. ibid.*

But this is *begging the question:* and the Doctor ought to have *proved* what he only *supposes*, viz. "That *Barlow* and *Scory* were Bishops *validly ordained.*" This the Catholics absolutely deny; and they apprehend, it is more than *Barlow* and *Scory*'s advocates will ever be able to make good. It is confessed indeed, that *Scory* was *consecrated* (if it may be called, according to *King Edward's Form.* But then, this very form was declared to be absolutely null in Queen *Mary*'s first Parliament. As for *Barlow*, we cannot learn that he was ever consecrated at all. No register has preserved his Consecration-Act. In vain have *Mason*, *Bramhall*, *Burnet*, *Strype*, and *Wharton*, sought for it. And in vain may others seek for it, we believe, till the day of doom!

Object. II.—Bp. *Bramhall*, in his *Consec.* and *Suc.* of *Prot. Bps. justified*, keeps such a continual stir and bustle about Pope *Paul* IV. and Cardinal *Pole;* and repeats their names so often, and in so triumphant a manner, as to make one almost inclinable to believe they were the two main pillars of the *English* Reformation. In short, he has the

assurance, (p. 63) to aver, "That K. *Edward*'s Form of Ordination was judged valid in Q. *Mary*'s days by all Catholicks, and particularly by Cardinal *Pool*, then Apostolical Legate in *England*, and by the then Pope *Paul* IV. and by all the Clergy and Parliament of *England*."—And again, (p. 154), "*Paul* IV. and Cardinal *Pool* confirmed *all Ordinations* in King *Edward*'s time indifferently." See also p. 167, 172, 173, 194, 225.

But the contrary of this assertion happens to be the real truth. And it was certainly very ill judged in D. *Bramhall*, to pitch upon the most unlikely period in the *British* history for the granting of favours or indults to the reformers. For it is notoriously known, that in the very first Parliament under this Queen, *all ordinations* that had been conferred according to King *Edward*'s Ordinal, were declared to be *void, and of no effect.* Add to this, the Queen's *Articles*, or instructions to Bishop *Bonner*, wherein *all* persons ordained *after the new sort and fashion of orders*, are expressly said, *not to be ordered in very deed.*

Yet notwithstanding these plain and positive historical facts, *Bramhall* still persists in his opinion, which he endeavours to support by appealing to Cardinal *Pole*'s Bull of Dispensation, part whereof he quotes as follows:—— 'And we will graciously receive, by ourselves, or by others deputed by Us to that purpose, as many have already been received, in their orders, and in their benefices, all ecclesiastical persons, as well seculars as regulars, of whatsoever orders, which have obtained any suits, dispensations, grants, graces, and indults, as well in their Ecclesiastical Orders as Benefices, or other spiritual matters, by the pretended Authority of the Supremacy of the Church of *England*, tho' ineffectually, and only *de facto*, so they be penitent, and be returned to the unity of the Church. And We will, in due time, dispense with them in the Lord for these things.' [Vid. *App.* No. XXI.]——Hence our Author (p. 66) infers, "That if the Bishops and Priests ordained in K. *Edward* VI.'s time wanted some essential of their respective Ordinations, then it was not in the power of all the Popes and Legates that ever were in the world, to confirm their respective Orders, or dispense with them."

Now, admitting this inference to be true, what is it to the purpose? For, suppose the Cardinal Legate, upon the discovery of some *essential* defect in the *Bishops* and *Priests* ordained in K. *Edward* VI.'s time, could neither *confirm* nor *dispense* with them, must we therefore presently con-

clude, there was no other imaginable remedy in his power? Pray what should hinder him (in cases where neither *Confirmations* nor *Dispensations* could take place) from having recourse to *re-ordination?* This was no uncommon remedy in those days. It was indeed the only remedy for *defective* Ordinations. It was both enjoined and insisted upon in Queen *Mary*'s Articles to her Bishops, as appears from the tenor of the fourteenth article, which runs thus:

Art. 14. 'Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new sort and fashion of Orders, considering they were not ordered in very deed, the Bishop of the Diocese, finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which was wanting in them before, and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister.'

Now, I say, though we should admit of D. *Bramhall*'s supposition, that K. *Edward*'s Clergy were incapable of being *confirmed* or *dispensed* with in their *respective* Orders, (*considering they were not ordered in very deed*) it is not however to be imagined they should still be incapable of having their defective orders *supplied* by re-ordination.

But does not the Cardinal say, "He will *dispense* with them *in their orders?*"

Yes, he does: but then he takes care to apply that *restorative*, not to all indiscriminately, but to such only as were capable of reaping the benefit of it, *i. e.* 'To such as had been duly and rightly *ordained* or *promoted*, before they had they had the misfortune to lapse into the heterodoxies of those times.—[*Dummodo ante eorum lapsum in hæresim rite et legitime ordinati vel promoti fuerint.*']—Card. Pole's Fac.

It may not therefore be unnecessary to observe, in this dispute, that as long as the ancient Ordinal had a being, and was duly and religiously observed, no questions were ever started, no scruples raised, about the *Validity of Orders*. All such as were ordained before the death of K. *Henry* VIII. (according to the ancient form and manner of ordaining) and had afterwards embraced the errors of the next reign, were entitled (upon their returning to their duty under Queen *Mary*) to Cardinal *Pole*'s Dispensation; in virtue whereof they were restored to the *free* and *lawful* exercise of their *Orders*, and reinstated in the peaceable enjoyment of their *benefices* and *dignities*, wherewith they had been invested before their fall from the Old Religion. But as for those, whose Ordinations had been conferred according to the Form prescribed in K. *Edward*'s Ordinal,

(i. e. *after the new sort and fashion of Orders*) we agree with D. *Bramhall*, that it was not in the power of *Paul* IV. of Cardinal *Pole*, nor of all the Popes and Legates in the world, to *confirm* or *dispense* with them. For what room could there be for Pope's or Legates (*Pauls* or *Poles*) to confirm or dispense with such Ordinations as were well known, *in Queen* Mary's *days*, to labour under an essential defect, and to be, and to have been, null and void *ab initio*?

In fine, since there is no argument like *matter of fact*, let it be observed, that the conduct of the Bp. of *Gloucester* spoke very plain in disfavour of K. *Edward*'s Ordinal, when that Prelate, in quality of the Queen's Commissary, degraded D. *Ridley* as a *Priest* only, not as a *Bishop*; *for*, says he, (or *Fox* at least makes him say) *we do not acknowledge you for a Bishop.* The same thing happened to *Hooper* and *Farrer*, who having been ordained Priests according to the old form, (*Temp.* H. 8.); and being afterwards advanced to Bishoprics by K. *Edward*, (the former to *Gloucester*, the latter to S. *David*'s) yet neither of them was degraded from any order above that of *Priesthood.* And as for *Bradford*, though *Fox* calls him a *Priest*, nevertheless, by his not being looked upon by the Catholics, as one that had been raised or advanced by virtue of his *new-fashioned* Orders, above the rank of a layman, he was never degraded at all. Hence it evidently appears, both from the *opinions* and *practice* of the *Marian* Prelates, that the *Bishops* and *Priests* ordained in *King* Edward's *time*, were never owned, never acknowledged by them, never allowed to be true Bishops and Priests. Nor is it less evident, that Bp. *Bramhall* imposes upon the credulity or ignorance of his readers, when, without a due regard to the truth, he boldly asserts, "That K. *Edward*'s Form of Ordination was *judged* valid in *Queen* Mary's *days* by Pope *Paul* IV. Card. *Pole*, and all Catholicks!"

Object. III.—Admitting that the Form of Ordination might be somewhat lame and defective in the time of K. *Edward the Sixth*, Q. *Elizabeth*, K. *James the First*, and K. *Charles the First*; nevertheless, (to remove all deficiencies) in the reign of K. *Charles the Second*, it was enacted in Parliament that, *for the future, to wit after S. Bartholomew's day* 1662, *the form of ordaining a Bishop should be*; "receive the Holy Ghost for the *office* and *work* of a Bishop, &c."—and of a priest,—"receive the H. Ghost for the *office* of a Priest, &c."—And is not this sufficient? What would the Catholics desire more? The Catholics reply:

First, that the new edition of the Protestant Ordinal *(Temp. Car. sec.)* has had the misfortune to come into the world a great deal too late to be serviceable, in any degree, to the Church by law established. For what were those *additions* to the *first form*, but a tacit acknowledgment of its *insufficiency*, and a downright giving up of the cause, at least as to all Ordinations collated from the year 1550, to 1662, which takes in somewhat more than a solid century? For, in short, either the *improvements* and *additions* to the *Edwardian* form, *anno* 1662 (for which, by the by, we may thank *Erastus Senior*) were *essentially* necessary, or not: if *essentially* necessary, then what becomes of all the Ordinations prior to that remarkable *æra*? if *unnecessary*, why were they inserted at all? But,

Secondly, it is absolutely denied *by all Catholics*, that the *Office of a Priest* is sufficiently expressed in the modern Protestant Ordinal. True it is, that the words *Office* and *Priest*, are now, not unartfully foisted into the text; but wherein that *Office* consists, is still the *(undetermined)* question. It is questionable to this day, what it is in *particular*, that the Church of *England* Ministers receive, by virtue of their Ordinations. Will you say they receive the power of forgiving sins? But how is that possible? How is it possible for any one to be invested with the power of absolution, without being first a truly and validly ordained Priest? Is there any body, besides *such* a Priest, capable of receiving *such* a power? It is very well known that the *Power of the Keys* is jurisdictional only: and therefore, if it be not founded on the *Power of Order*, it must necessarily fall to the ground; for it has nothing else to stand upon.

Then what a preposterous method of proceeding must that be, to challenge a power of absolving penitents, without having first received the *Power of Order*, i. e. a power to offer up sacrifices to God, and to consecrate the body and blood of *Jesus Christ*? For this is, properly speaking, the *Office of a Priest*. Even D. *Bramhall* himself, (p. 226), admits, that "they who are ordained Priests ought to have power to consecrate the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of *Jesus Christ*." And truly all mankind, from the earliest account of time, seem to have always entertained this notion of Priests, that it is their *Office*, their *Duty*, and the principal *Function* belonging to their character, to offer up Sacrifices. Did not the *Jews*, and the heathens too in all ages, and in every climate, look upon their priests to be a society

of men set apart, ordained, and appointed to sacrifice and to officiate at the altar? Is there not a most intimate and inseparable connection between *Altar*, *Priest*, and *Sacrifice*? And must they not, all three, stand or fall together?

In the last place, we presume it will scarce be urged by any man in his right senses, that the *whole* duty of a Priest consists in preaching. For it is very well known, that even women, in this nation, aspire to that *office*, and are said, indeed, to perform it to the *admiration* of their hearers. If therefore preaching be the *only* function belonging to the sacerdotal character, will not our *Female Pulpiteers* put in their claim to the *Priesthood*? And will not each of them pretend (if this be the only requisite) to be as good a *Priest* as the best *Minister* in the Church of *England*?

But we beg pardon for dwelling so long upon a subject too copious and extensive, it must be confessed, for *historical remarks*, and which, in reality, would require a separate volume. We shall, therefore, close the whole controversy with observing, that the *Episcopal Character* in the Church of *England* must undoubtedly stand upon a *sound* bottom, a *solid* foundation, when that very Church appears upon record (even her own favourite record) to have received her *Primitive Ordination* from the hands of the *Puritans!* In which case, it was not more than necessary for Q. *Elizabeth* to exert her *supreme* and *absolute* authority; since several other irregularities, besides *Miles Coverdale*'s woollen gown, *needed a dispensation.*

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§ 10.—*Of the Ravages committed by* Q. Elizabeth *and her Courtiers on* English *Bishoprics.*

How fond soever Q. *Elizabeth* might *seem* to be of establishing *Episcopacy* in this realm, nevertheless much greater and more *real* was her fondness and affection for the *Episcopal Revenues.* This is candidly confessed by Protestant Historians. They assure us, that, when any of the Spiritual Lords dropt by death or deprivation, (which is a civil death) her Majesty took care never to be in too much haste to supply vacant sees with incumbents. On the contrary, a long *sede vacante* was always sure to take place; that the

Ecclesiastical Revenues might, by such favourable interims, be commodiously applied to augment those of the Crown. But let us hear D. *Heylin* upon this subject.

"* *Anno Reg. Eliz.* 1. it was enacted, that in the vacancy of any Archbishoprick or Bishoprick it should be lawful for the Queen to issue out a commission under the Great Seal, for taking a survey of all castles, manors, lands, tenements, &c. as to her seemed good.——And as all the Bishops' Sees were so long kept vacant before any of them was filled; so, in the following times, they were kept void, one after another, as occasion served, till the best flowers in the garden of the Church had been culled out of it.

"There was another clause in the said statute, by which the Patrimony of the Church was as much dilapidated, even after the restoring of the Bishops, as it was in the times of vacancy. For by that clause, all Bishops were restrained from making any grants of their farms or manors for more than one and twenty years, or three lives at the most, except it were to the Queen, her heirs and successors: and under that pretence, they might be granted to any of her hungry courtiers in free-farm, or for a lease of fourscore and nineteen years, as it pleased the parties. By which means, *Crediton* was dismembered from the See of *Exeter*, and the goodly manor of *Sherburn* from that of *Salisbury*. Many fair manors were likewise alienated from the rich Sees of *Winchester* and *Ely*, and indeed what not? Moreover, when the rest of the Episcopal Sees were supplied with new Bishops, yet *York* and *Winchester* were not so soon provided, that they might afford one *Michaelmas rent* more to the Queen's Exchequer, before the Lord Treasurer could give way to a new incumbent."—Mr. *Collier* adds, that

"† The Bishoprick of *Oxford* was in a manner quite stript by the Earls of *Leicester* and *Essex*; and for that purpose, as may reasonably be conjectured, kept void the greatest part of this reign. In short, all the Bishopricks of K. *Henry the Eighth*'s erection were so lamentably impoverished, that the new Bishops, at their first promotion, were forced to beg for their living, and subsist on the benevolence of their Clergy."

Now to some perhaps it may seem not a little strange

* *Heylin's Hist. Ref.* pp. 120, 121, 156.
† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. B. vi. p. 480.

and unaccountable, that Q. *Elizabeth*, after having established a *Reformed Episcopacy*, should nevertheless bear so very hard upon the Episcopal Revenues, and even plunder Bishoprics. But D. *Heylin* has left us a key, to let us into the meaning of this notable *court-contrivance.*——*The Queen*, says he, *had fixed herself on her resolution of keeping up some outward splendor of a Church.*——And how could this *outward splendor* be better kept up, than by the pomp and parade of *Bishops?* She only therefore wanted Bishops to make a *show;* but not to govern the Church. This, she was soon convinced, she could do very well without them.

In fine, Q. *Elizabeth* shewed herself, in this, and in many other instances, a true daughter of *Harry the Eighth.* Her father had swept off the *golden harvest* of Abbies and Abbey-Lands. Her brother fell heir to a *second crop* of Chanteries, Free-Chapels, and Hospitals. Nothing then was left for *Elizabeth*, but a few *gleanings:* and where could she glean with better hopes of success, than upon *Bishop's Lands?*

END OF THE SECOND PART.

THE SUPPLEMENT.

By way of Supplement to our *Memoirs of the Reformation of England*, we judged it might not be improper to subjoin a few instances of true *Presbyterian Zeal* (or rather spite and malice) against the remaining pious and majestic *monuments of antiquity*, which had escaped the sacrilegious hands of the first reformers.

We shall not detain the reader, nor suspend his expectation of what is yet to come, any longer, than to acquaint him, that (excepting D. *Patrick*'s narrative) all our intelligence relative to the subsequent *Puritanic Depredations*, is derived from a Book entitled *Mercurius Rusticus*.

And this being briefly premised, in the front of all the Churches that have undergone a *second persecution*, we shall place the Cathedral of

Canterbury.

How this Church was handled by the *pious zealots*, D. *Paske*'s Letter to the Earl of *Manchester* will inform us.

'My ever honoured Lord,

'Colonel *Sandys* arriving here with his troops on Friday night, presently caused a strict watch and sentinels to be set, both upon the Church, and upon several houses, to the great affright of the inhabitants. This done, Serjant Major *Cockaine* came to me, and, in the name of the Parliament, demanded to see the arms of the Church, and the store-powder of the county, which I presently show'd him.—The next morning we were excluded the Church, and not permitted to enter. But about eight of the clock Sir *Michael Livesey*, attended with many soldiers, came unto our officers, and commanded them to deliver up the keys of the church, which they did, and thereupon he departed; when the soldiers entering the Church and quire, giant-like, began to fight with God himself, overthrew the communion-

table, tore the velvet cloth from before it, defaced the goodly screen or tabernacle-work, violated the monuments of the dead, spoiled the organs, broke down the ancient rails and seats, with the brazen eagle which did support the Bible, forced open the cupboards of the singing-men, rent some of their surplices, gowns, and Bibles, and carried away others; mangled all our Service-Books and Books of Common-Prayer; bestrowing the whole pavement with the leaves thereof. They further exercised their malice upon the *arras* hanging in the quire, representing the whole story of our Saviour; wherein observing divers figures of *Christ*, (I tremble to express their blasphemies) one said, that *Here is Christ, and swore he would stab him.* Another said, *Here is Christ, and swore that he would rip up his bowels*: which they did accordingly, so far as the figures were capable of, besides many other villanies. And not content therewith, finding another statue of *Christ* in the frontispiece of the south gate, they discharged against it 40 shot at the least, triumphing much when they did hit it on the head or face, as if they were resolved to crucify him again in his figure, whom they could not hurt in truth. Nor had their fury been thus stop'd, threatning the ruin of the whole fabrick, had not the Colonel, with some others, come to its relief and rescue.——Your Lordship will be pleased to pardon my hasty expressions, which proceeded from a grieved heart; and I am confident the Honourable Houses of Parliament, being rightly informed herein, will proceed against the like abuses and impieties in other places; in the mean time, we submit with patience to the Providence of Him, who can, and will, bring good out of evil, which is the earnest prayer of

'Your Lordship's most obliged servant,

'*Thomas Paske.*'

'*Aug.* 30, 1643.'

Rochester.

"The rebels, under the command of Colonel *Sandys* and Sir *John Seaton*, coming to *Rochester*, brought the same affections along with them which they expressed at *Canterbury*, though they did less mischief. The monuments of the dead, which elsewhere they broke open and violated, stood untouched; the seats and stalls of the quire escaped breaking down; only they broke down the rail about the

Lord's Table, seiz'd upon the velvet covering, and removed it into a lower part of the church. And to show what members they are of the Church of *England*, they strew'd the pavement with the torn, mangled leaves of the Book of Common-Prayer. Thus having done some spoil, they left the church. But into what farther outrageous impieties this schismatical fury hath since transported them, or what else they have practised on this church, to complete their monstrous reformation, is not yet made known to us."

Chichester.

"The rebels, under the conduct of Sir *William Waller*, entering the city of *Chichester* on *Innocents' Day*, 1642; the next day, their first business was to plunder the Cathedral Church. There they seiz'd upon the vestments and ornaments of the Church, together with the consecrated plate. They left not so much as a cushion for the pulpit, nor a chalice.——The commanders having in person executed the *covetous* part of sacrilege, they leave the *destructive* and *spoiling* part to be finished by the common soldiers. They broke down the organs, and dashing the pipes with their poll-axes, scoffingly said, *Hark how the organs go!* They broke the rail about the communion-table, which was done with such fury, that the table itself escaped not, but tasted of the same fare with the rail, and was broke in pieces. They forced open all the locks either of doors or desks, wherein the singing-men laid up their Common Prayer-Books, their gowns and surplices. They rent the books in pieces, and scattered the torn leaves over all the Church; but against the gowns and surplices their anger was not so hot; these were not amongst the *anathemata*, but might be reserved to *secular uses*. In the south cross-isle, on one side, the history of the Church's foundation was very artfully pourtray'd, with the pictures of the Kings of *England*; on the other side, over against them, were the pictures of the Bishops. These monuments they deface and mangle with their hands and swords, as high as they could reach: and to show their love and zeal to the Protestant Religion established in the Church of *England*, one of these miscreants pickt out the eyes of King *Edward the Sixth*'s picture, saying, 'That all this mischief came from him, when he established the Common Prayer-Book."

Winchester.

" The rebels under the conduct of Sir *William Waller*, sate down before the city of *Winchester*, on *Tuesday* the 12th of *December*, 1642. *Wednesday* they spent in plundering the city; on *Thursday* morning they violently broke open the Cathedral. They entered the Church with colours flying, drums beating, and some of their troops of horse also accompanied them in their march, and rode up thro' the body of the Church and quire. They rudely pluck down the table, and break the rail; and afterwards carrying it to an ale-house, they set it on fire, and in that fire burn also the books of Common-Prayer, and all the singing-books belonging to the quire. They throw down the organs, and break the stories of the Old and New Testament, curiously cut in carved work, beautified with colours, and set round about the top of the stalls of the quire. —From thence they turn to the monuments of the dead. They begin with Bishop *Fox*'s chapel, which they utterly deface. They demolish and overturn the monuments of Cardinal *Beaufort*, son to *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*. They deface the monument of *William* of *Wainfleet*, Bishop likewise of *Winchester*, and the magnificent founder of *Maydalen* College, in *Oxford*.——Amongst the acts of bounty and piety done by *Richard Fox*, the 57th Bishop of this See, are reckon'd the following. He covered the quire, the presbytery, and the isles adjoining, with a goodly vault, and new glazed all the windows of that part of the Church; and caused the bones of such *Kings*, *Princes*, and *Prelates*, as had been buried in this Church, and lay dispersed and scattered in several parts of the Cathedral, to be collected, and put into several chests of lead, with *inscriptions* on each chest, whose bones lodged in them. These chests (to preserve them from rude and prophane hands) he caused to be placed on the top of a wall of exquisite workmanship, built by him, to inclose the presbytery: there (never to be removed, as a man might think, but by the last trump) did rest the bones of many Kings and Queens; as of *Alfredus*, *Edwardus Senior*, *Eadredus*, *Hardicanutus*, *Emma* the mother, and *Edward the Confessor*, her son; *Kiniglissus*, the first founder of the Cathedral of *Winchester*; *Egbert*, the first *English* Monarch, *William Rufus*, and others." See *App.* No. XXII.

" With these, in the chests, were deposited the bones of many godly Bishops and Confessors, as of *Birinus*, *Hedda*, *Swithinus*, *Frithestanus*, S. *Alphegus* the Confessor, *Stigandus*, *Wina*, and others. But these monsters of men, to whom nothing is holy, nothing is sacred, did not stick to prophane and violate these cabinets of the dead, and scatter their bones all over the pavement of the Church. For on the north of the quire they threw down the chests wherein were deposited the bones of the Bishops ; the like they did to the bones of *William Rufus*, of Queen *Emma*, of *Hardicanutus*, and *Edward the Confessor*, and were going to practise the like impiety on the bones of all the rest of the *West-Saxon* kings. But the outcry of the people, detesting so great inhumanity, caused some of their commanders to come in amongst them, and to restrain their madness. But that devilish malice, which was not permitted to rage and overflow to the spurning and trampling on the bones of all, did satiate itself, even to a prodigious kind of wantonness, on those which were already in their power. And therefore, as if they meant (if it had been possible) to make those bones contract a posthumous guilt, by being now made passive instruments of more than heathenish sacrilege and prophaneness, those windows which they could not reach with their swords and muskets, or rests, they broke to pieces, by throwing at them the bones of *Kings*, *Queens*, *Bishops*, *Saints*, and *Confessors:* so that the spoil done in the windows will not be repaired for a thousand pounds. And now, having ransacked the Church, having defied God in his own house, violated the urns of the dead, abused the *bones*, and scattered the *ashes* of deceased Monarchs, Bishops, Saints, and Confessors, they return in triumph, bearing the spoils with them, *viz.* Common Prayer-Books, broken organ-pipes, and mangled pieces of the carved work abovementioned, containing some histories of both Testaments. Such were the trophies of this glorious victory !"

Westminster.

" This Church, under the eye and immediate protection of the pretended Houses of Parliament, had its share in spoil and prophanation, as much as those Cathedrals which were more remote from them. For in July 1643, some soldiers of *Weshborne* and *Cacwood*'s company were quartered in the Abby-Church, where (as the rest of our modern re-

formers) they broke down the rail about the communion-table, and burnt it in the place where it stood. They broke down the organs, and pawned the pipes at several ale-houses for pots of ale.——There remain yet two prophanations more of this Church, not to be passed over in silence.

"The first was committed by Sir *Robert Harlow*, who broke down the altar-stone which stood before that goodly monument of *Henry* the Seventh. The stone was touch-stone, all of one piece; a rarity not to be match'd, that we know of, in any part of the world. There it stood for many years, not for use, but only for ornament; yet it did not escape the phrenzy of this man's ignorant zeal, for he broke it into shivers.

"The second was committed on the 13th of *December*, 1643, when the carcass of *John Pym* (as much as the *lice left of it) was brought into this Church, and, after a sermon preached by *Stephen Marshall*, Archflamen of the rebels, it was interred between the Earl of *Dover*'s place of burial and the monument of *Henry the Third*, founder of this Church. 'Twas a pity that he, who had been the author of so much bloodshed, and so many calamities, under which the kingdom yet groans, and therefore deserved to have his *death*, not only with the *transgressors* and *wicked*, but to be buried with the *burial of an ass*, should, after his death, make his *sepulcher amongst the honourable*, and mingle his vulgar, lousy ashes, with those of *Kings*, *Princes*, and *Nobles*."

Exeter.

"Having the Church in their possession, in a most puritanical beastly manner they make it a common jakes.—Over the communion-table, in fair letters of gold, was written the *holy* and *blessed* Name of *Jesus:* this they expunge, as *superstitious* and *execrable.* They tear the Books of Common-Prayer to pieces, and then burn them, with exceeding great exultation and expressions of joy. They broke and defaced all the glass windows of the Church, which cannot be repaired for many hundreds of pounds. They struck off the heads of all the statues on all the monuments in the Church, and pluckt down and defaced the statue of an ancient Queen, the wife of *Edward the Confessor*, the first founder of this Church; mistaking it for the statue of the *Blessed Virgin Mary the Mother of God.* So she was

* N.B. *Pym* died of the lousy-evil.

styled by the *Holy Catholic Church*, many years before it was in danger to be voted blasphemy, in that committee, where learned *Miles Corbet* sate in the chair. They broke down the organs, and taking two or three hundred pipes with them, in a most scornful, contemptuous manner, went up and down the streets piping with them: and meeting some of the choristers of the Church, scoffingly told them, *Boys, we have spoiled your trade, you must go and sing hot pudding-pies.*"

Peterborough.

"This place hath suffered in so distinguished a manner for its loyalty, that we know not where to enter upon the narration of the same, except at the great west window, (where *Cromwell*'s soldiers made their first breach and entrance) which was adorned with variety of ecclesiastical history.---From thence they presently hurried to the quire, where, according to their trade and custom in other places, they tore in pieces the service-books, pulled down the pulpit, with that black-mouth'd cry, *Down with the throne of Antichrist, down with it, even to the ground.* And when some of the standers-by requested *Cromwell* that he would please to stay his soldiers from farther ruining and defacing the place, he replied, that *they did God good service in that action.*—But observe the wages that the divine justice repay'd one of them for their work.

"When they had demolished the quire, espying in the roof, right over the communion-table, our Saviour pourtray'd, coming in glory with his angels, and at the four corners, the four evangelists, *one of them* charged his musket to shatter them down, but by the rebound of his own shot, was struck blind. If he did his God good thereby, he did himself an ill turn, his wickedness falling on his own pate. He lay along while in that condition, and never recovered his former sight.

"Not one monument in the Church escaped undefaced, no, not of the pious benefactors, nor those two fair tombs of *Catharine*, Queen Dowager of *Spain*, the repudiate of King *Henry the Eighth*, and *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*." ——Thus far *Mercurius Rusticus*. To whose account of these lamentable puritanic depredations, we beg leave to subjoin

" † D. *Patrick*'s narrative of the rifling and defacing the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*, in the year 1643.

" In *April*, the aforesaid year, some rebel forces came to *Peterborough*, being under the command of the afterwards Usurper, *Oliver Cromwell*. These breaking open the Church, threw down and broke in pieces two organs that were in it. Then entering the choir, they tore in pieces all the Common Prayer-Books they could find, tearing the *Apocrypha* out of the Bible. Next they broke down all the seats, stalls, and wainscot, which was adorned with passages of scripture, a *Latin* distich being in each seat, to declare the story.

" The old Leiger-Book of the Church being found there by one of these sacrilegious rebels, was redeemed by some person belonging to the Church, who said it was a *Latin* Bible.

" Having defaced the choir, they broke down and burnt the rails about the communion-table, which they also threw down, took away the cloth on it, and a Bible and Common Prayer-Book in velvet covers, a silver-gilt bason and silver candlesticks, which last were lost, the other things being restored by the command of Col. *Hubbert*.

" In *July* following, another gang of rebels broke open the vestry, and carried off what they found there. Behind the communion-table there stood a curious piece of stone works, much admired, painted, and gilt, which rose up almost as high as the Church, in a row of three lofty spires, with other less spires growing out of each of them; this they pulled down with ropes, and laid level with the ground.

" Over this place, in the roof of the Church, in a large oval, yet to be seen, was the picture of our Saviour seated on a throne, with the four Evangelists, and other Saints on each side. This they defaced by many musket shot made at it.

" At *Yaxley*, a neighbouring town, these holy soldiers p-ss-ed in the font, and then baptized an horse and a mare, using the solemn words of baptism, and signing them with the sign of the cross.

" When they had done all the other mischief they could at *Peterborough*, they fell to rifle the tombs and monu-

† *Eng. Mon. abr.* Vol. I. p. 490.

ments, tearing off the brass that was on them, defacing the inscriptions, and breaking in pieces all the figures on them. Then they broke all the glass windows, because they were painted with passages of Scripture, and reckon'd some of the finest in *England.*" Thus D. *Patrick.* — See also D. *Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians,* pp. 450, 451, 452.

We shall conclude our account of these Puritanic ravages, and put an end to the whole, with the following observations. And,

First, we cannot help taking notice of the style of the author of this same *Mercurius Rusticus,* which is plainly perceived to be sufficiently acrimonious. And for the truth of this remark, we appeal to the following expressions :—*Outrageous impieties !-- Schismatical fury !--Monstrous reformation !--Monsters of men !--Devilish malice ! -- More than heathenish sacrilege and prophaneness,* &c.---But the *indelicacies* of this writer may easily be accounted for, if not excused, when we consider them as the consequences and effects of an honest, well-meaning, and not illaudable zeal for the *House of God,* and the *Royal Cause.*

Secondly, in his account of the prophanations committed in *Winchester* Cathedral, he entertains his reader, it must be confessed, with some very shocking circumstances; among which we may reckon the demolishing of, perhaps, some of the finest church-windows in Christendom, with the bones of *Kings, Queens, Bishops, Confessors,* and *Saints,* most wantonly and wickedly thrown at them !---But in this, *Cromwell* and his partizans only imitated the wretched example of a famous King of *England,* whose name we need not mention ; for it is but too well known by whose *orders* the bones of Archbishop *Becket* (*alias* S. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*) were disinterred, burnt by an *opprobrious hand,* and the ashes tossed into the air, to be dispersed, like common dust, before the wind, as some say, or thrown into the river, as Cardinal *Pallavicini* and others report.—[*Henricus Octavus illius ossa, manu carnificis comburi jussit, cineresque in fluvium projici.* Card. Pal. Hist. Con. Trid. L. iv. p. 126.]

Thirdly, if there had been regular and exact accounts, like those above, preserved, of the sacrilegious destroying of Churches under King *Henry the Eighth,* and his son *Edward the Sixth,* they might have filled large volumes, and many of them would immensely exceed what has here

been recounted, in barbarity and prophaneness. Some hundreds of stately Churches were then not only *abused, prophaned,* and *defaced,* but *thrown down* to the ground, and that *by public authority.* Nevertheless, *this* is still looked upon by many as a pious action, a *blessed work,* and what not; while the *other* (by far the less criminal) is described in the strongest energy of language, and painted in the most frightful colours! Not a single circumstance is forgot! No, not so much as the tearing of a Common Prayer-Book in pieces! Yet neither D. *Paske,* D. *Patrick,* nor the author of *Mercurius Rusticus,* find fault with the horrid havock that was made of *Consecrated Structures* by *Cromwell the First,* and the Duke of *Somerset;* but both they and D. *Heylin* inveigh and exclaim most bitterly against a parcel of brutish soldiers and *sacrilegious rebels,* let loose upon them and their Churches by *Cromwell the Second.*

Thus it is *aversion* or *affection* that, with some people, makes the same fact either *good* or *bad!*

CONCLUSION.

"And thus we see who first began
This monster REFORMATION.
A set of vile, amphibious creatures,
Of diff'rent shapes and diff'rent natures.
For, 'ere the civil wars broke out,
Religion spawn'd a num'rous rout
Of vermin, that from putrefaction
Deriv'd their first and sole extraction;
Who now, like toads in wet weather,
Gender, and croak, and sprawl together."

Butler's Posthumous Works, p. 149.

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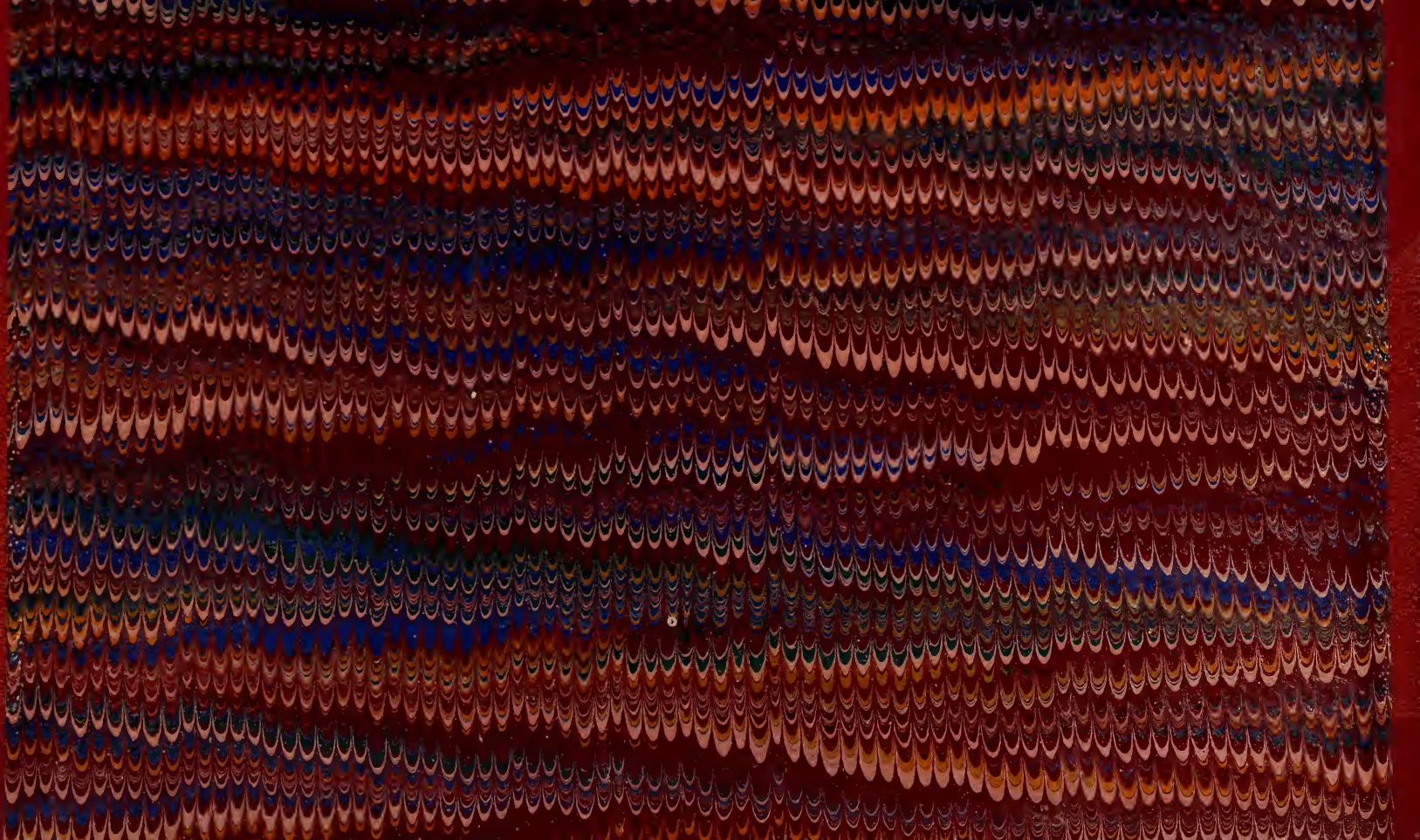

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